1984 and SOCIAL CONTROL

PAPERS from the
« 1984 and SOCIAL CONTROL »
CONFERENCE

Dedication

This collection of essays is dedicated in memory of Ian Langham, who participated in the conference and whose unfortunate and sudden death was a shock to all who knew him.

This booklet is a collection of all available papers given at the "1984 and Social Control" Conference.

Sydney, 1985.

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PREFACE

The year 1984, was predictably a time when all manner of futurologists and social commentators seized upon the writings of English social critic George Orwell to refute, eulogise or comment upon Orwell's vision and critique of totalitarianism.

Despite the fact that 1984 was greeted by the press as a miniature media event and much was made of George Orwell's novel there was little debate, discussion and analysis of the issues of social control in Australia today. Yet we live in a society where our day to day lives are subject to increasing forms of control, not only through the centralizing organs of the state but also through such issues as; the manipulation of public opinion by the media; the increasing influence of computer technology and its effects on centralizing and controlling information; the advertising industry and its manipulation of consumer demands and indeed the tendency even within movements for social change to insist upon a "correct" code of behaviour and opinion.

With these issues in mind, a small group of people — some of whom were connected with JURA books, an anarchist bookshop in Newtown, but also other interested individuals and activists — got together early in 1984, in order to organize a public forum, specifically looking at the issue of social control in Australia today. The papers reproduced in this book are derived from this conference held June, 1984.

The conference took place over three days which provided scope for some hundreds of people to participate in what was stimulating if sometimes heated debate during workshops, seminars and lectures.

The topics and themes covered were wide and varied, ranging from issues concerning the state (bureaucracy, secret services, the legal system, prisons etc.), civil liberties, technology, unions, racism, the media, patriarchy and feminism and consumerism. The final session was devoted to an examination of the concepts of freedom and liberty. (For a full description of the programme see p. 141 — 144).

The papers in the book are reproduced in the order in which they occurred during the weekend, although not all the papers have been included.

We would like to express our thanks to all the people who helped us during the weeks of hard work leading up to the conference and during the event itself in such diverse activities as pasting up posters, childminding, organizing food, co-ordinating sessions and recording the talks etc. In particular we would like to thank all the members of Jura Books collective, Everything collective, Tony Katsigiannis, John Casey, Brian Robson, Bronwyn Holland, Tony Collins, Nan and Rod.

We would like to thank of course, all the speakers, some of whom came from considerable distances at their own expense and who all gave their time for free. We also thank Joan Coxsedge and Noam Chomsky who could not participate in the conference in person but who sent us papers for inclusion in this book.

The conference would not have been the same without the lunchtime concerts given by **Free Beseiged** and **The Mountain Women's Bush Band**. A special note of thanks must also go to Hamish Reid, without whose considerable financial and moral support, the publication of this book would not have been possible.

Finally we would like to thank the typesetter, Roberta Blake, who put up with our continually extended deadlines for copy.

To all those who have enquired over the last year about another conference, we hope that in the future we may be able to organize similar follow up events.

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Sid Parissi
Gillian Arthur
Dave Whelan
Alison Leitch

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1984: ORWELL'S AND OURS

Noam Chomsky

Last May, a remarkable event took place in Moscow. A courageous newscaster, Vladimir Danchev, denounced the Russian war in Afghanistan over Moscow radio in five broadcasts extending over a week, calling on the rebels "not to lay down their arms" and to fight against the Soviet "invasion" of their country. The Western press was overwhelmed with admiration for his startling departure from "the official Soviet propaganda line." In the *New York Times*, one commentator wrote that Danchev had "revolted against the standards of double-think and newspeak." In Paris, a prize was established in his honour to be given to "a journalist who fights for the right to be informed". In December, Danchev returned to work after psychiatric treatment. A Russian official was quoted as saying: "He was not punished, because a sick man cannot be punished".

The event was considered to have afforded a glimpse into the world of 1984, and Danchev's act was justly regarded as a triumph of the human spirit, a refusal to be cowed by totalitarian violence.

What was remarkable about Danchev's action was not merely the protest, but the fact that he referred to the Russian invasion of Afghanistan as "an invasion". In Soviet theology, there is no such event as "the Russian invasion of Afghanistan." Rather, there is a "Soviet defense of Afghanistan" against bandits supported from abroad. As in the case of most propaganda systems, here too there is a kernel of truth concealed in a massive lie. The Mujahidin do operate from "sanctuaries" in Pakistan, where CIA and Chinese agents oversee the flow of arms, and the guerillas take credit for having destroyed 50% of all schools and hospitals along with many other acts regarded as "atrocities" by the invaders, who have stated that they will withdraw if Afghanistan is secured from attack from Pakistan. This stance is dismissed by the West on the proper grounds that aggressors should withdraw "unconditionally", as the UN Security Council insisted, with US support that was quickly withdrawn, in the case of Israel's invasion of Lebanon. The West has also been justly indignant when the Russians cynically denounce the "terrorism" of the resistance, or when they claim, absurdly, to be defending Afghanistan from attack from these "bandits" who murder innocents.

The USSR protests that it was invited in, but as the London *Economist* grandly proclaimed, "an invader is an invader unless invited in by a government with some claim to legitimacy." Only in Orwellian Newspeak can such aggression be characterized as "defense against externally-supported terrorism."

Orwell's *1984* was largely drawn from the practice of *existing* Soviet society, which had been portrayed with great accuracy by Maximov, Souvarine, Beck and Godin, and many others. It was only in cultural backwaters such as Paris that the facts were long denied, so that Khruschev's revelations and later Solzhe-

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nitsyn's reiteration of the familiar story came as such a revelation at a time when the intelligentsia were prepared to march in a different parade. What was striking about Orwell's vision was not his portrayal of existing totalitarianism, but his warning that it could happen here.

So far, at least, that has not come to pass. Industrial capitalist societies bear little resemblance to Orwell's Oceania — though the terror-and-torture regimes they have imposed and maintained elsewhere achieve levels of violence that Orwell never depicted, Central America being only the most obvious current case.

Implicit in the press coverage of the Danchev affair was a note of self-congratulation: it couldn't happen here. Here, it requires little courage to defy the government on a point of doctrine. Certainly no Danchev has been sent to a psychiatric hospital for calling an invasion an "invasion". But let us inquire further into just why this is the case. One possibility is that the question does not arise because, statistical error aside, there are simply no Danchevs here: journalists and other intellectuals are so subservient to the doctrinal system that they cannot even perceive that "an invader is an invader unless invited in by a government with a claim to legitimacy", when it is the US that is the invader. This would be a stage beyond what Orwell imagined, a stage beyond what Soviet totalitarianism has achieved. Is this merely an abstract possibility, or is it an uncomfortably close assessment of our own world?

Consider the following facts. In 1962, the US Air Force began its direct attacks against the rural population of South Vietnam, with heavy bombing and defoliation, as part of a program intended to drive millions of people into camps where, surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards, they would be "protected" from the guerillas they were supporting, the "Vietcong", the southern branch of the former anti-French resistance (the Vietminh). This is what we call "aggression", "an invasion", when conducted by some official enemy. The GVN had no legitimacy and little popular support, and in fact it was feared that they might arrange a settlement with the South Vietnamese enemy. Some 70,000 "Vietcong" had already been killed in a US-directed terror campaign before the outright US invasion in 1962. The US invadors continued to block all attempts at political settlement, and in 1964 began preparations for a vast escalation of the war against the south combined with an attack against North Vietnam, Laos and later also Cambodia.

For the past 22 years, I have searched in vain for even a single reference in mainstream journalism or scholarship to an "American invasion of South Vietnam", or American "aggression" in South Vietnam. In the American doctrinal system, there is no such event. There is no Danchev, though in this case it took no courage to tell the truth, merely honesty. Even at the peak of opposition to the US war, only a miniscule portion of the articulate intelligentsia opposed the war on grounds of principle — on the grounds that aggression is wrong — while most came to oppose it, well after leading business circles did, on the "pragmatic" grounds that the costs were too high. Popular attitudes, incidentally, were rather different. As late as 1982, over 70% of the population

(but far fewer "opinion leaders") regarded the war not just as a mistake, but as "fundamentally and morally wrong", a problem known as "the Vietnamese syndrome" in American political discourse.

These facts should give us pause. How was such astonishing subservience to the doctrinal system achieved? We can begin to understand by looking more closely at the debate in mainstream circles between the "hawks" and the "doves". The hawks were those, like journalist Joseph Alsop, who felt that with sufficient dedication the war could be won. The doves agreed with liberal historian Arthur Schlesinger that it probably could not, though like him, they took for granted that "we all pray that Mr Alsop will be right". It was a "hopeless cause", as critic Anthony Lake recently observed. All agree that it was "a failed crusade" undertaken for motives that were "noble" though "illusory" and with "the loftiest intentions", in the words of Stanley Karnow in his recent best-selling history, highly regarded for its critical candor.

Strikingly omitted from the debate is the view that the US could have won, but that it would have been wrong to allow aggression and massacre to succeed. This was the position of the authentic peace movement (if the war was a "hopeless cause", why bother to protest and disrupt it, why suffer the consequences of that protext, which were often severe?).

This quite typical commentary illustrates the genius of "brainwashing under freedom". In a totalitarian system, it is required only that official doctrine be obeyed. In the democratic systems of though control, it is deemed necessary to take over the entire spectrum of discussion: nothing must remain thinkable apart from the Party Line. State propaganda is often not expressed, merely presupposed as the framework for discussion among right-minded people. The debate, therefore, must be between the "doves" and "hawks", the Schlesingers and the Alsops. The position that the US is engaged in aggression, and that such aggression is wrong, must remain unthinkable and unexpressed, with reference to the Holy State. The "responsible critics" make an estimable contribution to this cause, which is why they are tolerated, indeed honoured.

The nature of Western systems of indoctrination was not perceived by Orwell and is typically not understood by dictators, who fail to comprehend the utility for propaganda of a critical stance that incorporates the basic assumptions of official doctrine and thereby marginalizes authentic and rational critical discussion, which must be blocked. There is rarely any departure from this pattern. Perhaps the sharpest critic of the American war in mainstream journalism was Anthony Lewis, who argued that the US involvement began with "blundering efforts to do good" but by 1969, it was clear that it was "a disastrous mistake". Few academic scholars were more critical of US policy than John K. Fairbank, who informed the American Historical Society in his December 1968 presidential address, a year after the Tet offensive had convinced much of the corporate elite to abandon the effort to subjugate South Vietnam, that we entered the war in an "excess of righteousness and disinterested benevolence", but it was a mistake to do so, as events showed. Few dictators can boast such total conformity to Higher Truths.

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The devices that are used to ensure such obedience are effective though not overly subtle. Consider, for example, what is universally called the "peace process" in the Middle East: the Camp David accords of 1978-9. Few ask why the inhabitants of the territories under Israeli occupation reject the "peace process" with virtual unanimity. A moment's though suffices to provide the reason. As was obvious at once, the "peace process" served to remove Egypt from the conflict so that Israel would then be free, with US support, to extend its settlement and repression in the occupied territories and attack Lebanon, exactly as it has been doing since. But such elementary observations are excluded from "responsible" discussion: the US is committed to the creation of a powerful and expansionist Israel as a "strategic asset". Anything that contributes to this end is, by definition, the "peace process". The term itself eliminates any further discussion: who can be against peace?

There are thousands of similar examples. The US marines in Lebanon are the "peace-keeping force", and actions taken against them are "terrorism". For much of the population, they are simply consummating the Israeli invasion with its "new order": the rule of right-wing Christians and privileged Muslim sectors over the poor and disadvanted whose "terrorism" in their own eyes is resistance, a point of view excluded from discussion here. When Israel bombs villages near Baalbek with 500 casualties, mostly civilians, including 150 school-children, that is not "terrorism" but "retaliation", and it receives no comment or censure here: as an American ally, Israel inherits the right of aggression and massacre. Often, unwanted facts are simply suppressed. The "secret bombings" of Laos and Cambodia were "secret" because the media refused to report the ample evidence available. The US-backed Indonesian aggression in Timor, leading to the death of perhaps 200,000 people and a Biafra-style famine, was effectively suppressed for over 4 years. Renewed attacks on the population are in progress now, and are also being suppressed.

I doubt that any story has ever received the coverage of the downing of KAL flight 007 last fall, sure proof that the Russians are the most barbaric devils since Attila the Hun so that we must place Pershing missiles in Germany and step up the war against Nicaragua. The densely-printed *NYTimes* index devotes 7 full pages to the atrocity in September 1982 alone. In the midst of the furor, UNITA, the "freedom fighters" supported by the US and South Africa, took credit for downing an Angolan jet with 126 killed. There was no ambiguity, the plane was not off course flying over sensitive installations, there was no RC 135 US reconnaisance jet nearby confusing the issue (possibly jamming radar). It was simply premeditated murder. The incident received 100 words in the *NY Times* and no comment anywhere in the media.

This is not the only such case. In October 1976, a Cuban airliner was bombed by CIA-backed terrorists, killing 73 civilians. In 1973 Israel downed a civilian plane lost in a sandstorm over the Suez canal with 110 killed. There was no protest, only editorial comments about how "No useful purpose is served by an acrimonious debate over the assignment of blame" (*NY Times*). Four days later, Prime Minister Golda Meir visited the US where she was troub-

led with no embarrassing questions and returned with new gifts of military aircraft. Contrary to recent falsehoods, Israel refused to pay compensation or to accept any responsibility; it offered only *ex gratia* payments, funded by the usual generous donor from abroad. In 1955, an Air India plane carrying the Chinese delegation to the Bandung conference was blown up in the air in what the Hong Kong police called a "carefully planned mass murder". An American defector later claimed that it was he who planted the bomb in the service of the CIA. None of these incidents demonstrate "barbarism"; all have been quickly forgotten.

One can offer thousands of such examples. In such ways, history is shaped in the interests of those in power.

All of this falls under the rubric of what Walter Lippman, in 1921, called "the manufacture of consent", an art which is "capable of great refinements" and will lead to a "revolution" in "the practice of democracy". This art has been much admired in the social sciences. The well-known American political scientist Harold Lasswell wrote in 1933 that we must avoid "democratic dogmatisms", such as the belief that people are "the best judges of their own interests". Democracy permits the voice of the people to be heard, and it is the task of the intellectual to ensure that this voice endorses what far-sighted leaders know to be the right course. Propaganda is to democracy what violence is to totalitarianism. The techniques have been honed to a high art, far beyond anything that Orwell dreamt of. The device of feigned dissent, incorporating the doctrines of the state religion and eliminating rational critical discussion is one of the more subtle means, though simply lying and suppression of fact and other crude techniques are also highly effective.

It should be noted that ideological control (Agitprop) is far more important in the democracies than in states that rule by violence, and is therefore more refined, and more effective. There are no Danchevs here, except at the remote margines of political debate.

For those who stubbornly seek freedom, there can be no more urgent task than to come to understand the mechanisms and practices of indoctrination. These are easy to perceive in the totalitarian societies, much less so in the system of "brainwashing under freedom" to which we are subjected and which all too often we serve as willing or unwitting instruments.

On contrary, ideolog control takes a different form in the democr than in totalitarian states ruled by violence. If commensurable, ideol. control is at least as important as in the latter. There are Danchevs here, they might be at the margins of political debate, but they are there and more power to them.

ROOTED IN SECRECY

the clandestine element in Australian politics

JOAN COXSEDGE
KEN COLDICUTT
GERRY HARANT

REVIEW OF REVIEWS OF *ROOTED IN SECRECY*

Joan Coxsedge

Instead of writing yet another general analysis of how Australia is dominated, both strategically and politically by Big Brother USA — under various headings such as CIA, NSA, using Australia secret agencies ASIO, ASIS, DSD, ONA and JIO — I have tried to detail how some of this domination is reflected in a specific instance, the publication of a book I co-authored, *Rooted in Secrecy, The Clandestine Element in Australian Politics*,† which came out 18 months ago.

When you write a polarising book, you must expect polarised responses. We didn't expect our book *Rooted in Secrecy* to be accepted by the critics without considerable flak — and we weren't disappointed.

After all, *Rooted in Secrecy* is not simply a book about secret agencies. It presents a case which is unacceptable to many people, even some who are supposed to be left-wing. We argue that, as Brecht pointed out, in politics things are never what they seem. And although our capitalist system is not a conspiracy (it would have to work better if it were) it is undoubtedly true that conspiracies operate within our system at every level. Our book is about the highest of these levels, the political and social control of global capitalism which operates outside elected governments.

Naturally, our particular concern is Australia, which we show to be increasingly dominated politically, economically and strategically by the United States. We detail that, internally, secret agencies are forcing Australia and other similar "democracies" into a mould of stagnant, manipulated "consensus" at a time when social change is an imperative. We give chapter and verse to major interference and manipulation, particularly during the period of mild reformism under Whitlam. We show that, within Australia as elsewhere, the secret establishment will stop at nothing to prevent fundamental social change. In addition, this clandestine establishment has, together with our own comprador class, sold Australia to the American military-industrial complex lock, stock and barrel.

Of course, where things happen in secret, you cannot, by definition, ever prove that they happened at all. If you accept that there are secret agencies which are actually secret, you must also accept the fact that your information about them will be largely through leaks, through blunders or through deliberate attempts at disinformation.

At least through the United States Freedom of Information Act and through Congressional hearings, a small part of the CIA's activities have been made public, but we have no similar situation in Australia regarding our own bunch — ASIO, ASIS, DSD, JIO and ONA and a host of other paramilitary groups being

† Coxsedge J, Coldicutt K, Harant G: *Rooted in Secrecy, The Clandestine Element in Australian Politics*, Melbourne, 1982.

supported by our taxes. The amount of hard information available here is consequently rather small, and some of it must also be suspect.

Like scientists probing subatomic particles, we must therefore work largely by inference, by setting up models and seeing whether they fit observed phenomena and known facts. We can attack this invisible structure, and record its behaviour, which we have been doing for a period of 10 years. Our model of society has allowed us to explain and, in fact, predict events, and we stand or fall by its political usefulness in day to day activism. For us, this is simply Marxism in action.

The late Dr. Evatt made the point that although it was unforgiveable to draw unjustified inferences, it was equally unforgiveable *not* to draw justifiable conclusions. As participant observers, we believe that our personal experiences are far more valid in this secret area than the mere scanning of books, which, of course, we have also done, as shown in the extensive bibliography to our book.

It may not be immediately obvious why our conspiracy thesis should offend some members and supporters of the left. After all, even younger people who have participated in protest movements cannot fail to be aware of Special Branch and ASIO activities. The judicial frame-up of three Ananda Marga members in the Hilton bombing trials and in the political witch-hunt inquest, which took place in October last year, is known, even if vaguely, to most present-day activists and students of political events. However, reviews of our book, along with other responses, highlight how disunited the left is even behind a demand as simple and straightforward as abolishing secret agencies. There are a number of reasons for this.

For a start, there are left organisations which implicitly promote socialism "through the ballot box". These members could never accept, let alone internalise, the fact that Australia, as Whitlam pointed out, could not now even have a government of mild reform without political interference. Others, wedded to overseas models of socialism, cannot freely accept CAPP's Australian stance. Obviously, many people also cannot face up to the situation where their political work is shown to be largely irrelevant.

One review quibbled about our not having made sufficient mention of the KGB, while others said we should not have mentioned them at all in the same breath with capitalist secret agencies. Most "left" reviewers are so wedded to the academic approach that they are totally unprepared to examine our thesis and compare it to their own experiences, as we ask them to do in our book. Instead, they see some of our inferences as unacceptable because they are not always supported by references, but only by observed reality. More oddly, some of these "left" reviewers seem to be perfectly happy with quotes from the mass media, despite the media's known bias and use by secret agencies. If we print first-hand information given by a contact or privately held document, our information is often treated as insufficient. However, if the same informant contacts the media which reproduces this material in garbled form, the garbled version, if quoted by us, will be accepted without question.

Those caught up in the academic mill may well ponder this phenomenon and reflect on the quality of much of today's "information explosion". It seems as if academia has reached the stage where information is only acceptable if it is derivative. No reviewer has claimed our thesis is not cohesive, which, for us, is what really counts.

Some of the characters who made the classic remarks about democracy were naturally our severist critics. Of the critical reviews we have received so far in the mass media around the country, only the Adelaide *Advertiser* and, to a much lesser extent, the *Australian*, have given us genuine reviews. The *National Times* has ignored us, which is rather puzzling because it purports to specialise in our subject and receives credit in our book for their work.

Concerning the reviews themselves, unfortunately it is rare indeed to find an Australian reviewer who simply states what a book is about and then says how well, in his or her opinion, this aim has been achieved. Most of them give you one paragraph about some tiny aspect, generally the tiny bit they've actually read, and then launch into a full-scale exposition of their own view of the subject.

Two reviews written by ex-snoops were particularly interesting. Both claimed the book was polemical, as if that was a great discovery, when we had stated in the first few pages that the book was written for activists and was therefore polemical rather than academic, and then hinted at inaccuracies but did not specify where or what. Mainly we were attacked for reaching "far-fetched" conclusions, which did not prevent a number of these reviewers from reaching their own far-fetching conclusions, with no backup evidence, that secret agencies are necessary and are doing some sort of unspecified work in the "national interest". In contrast to the shallow writing of most Australian reviewers, *CounterSpy*, the American magazine specialising in exposing secret agencies world-wide, recently published an excellent review which correctly focussed on our analysis of events and showed an understanding of the value of our direct actions against the snoops.

Before I leave the subject of reviews, I want to mention two quite spectacular non-reviews. One was published by the Melbourne *Herald* some months ago and was written by Anthony McAdam, and the other was published in the *Age*, fetchingly headed "Paranoia and smears". As you can imagine, when you are in our line of research, you are constantly accused of being paranoid, just like the Sandanista government in Nicaragua is currently accused of being paranoid about its claims of CIA attempts to overthrow it.

But published records of hearings before the "Subcommittee on Oversight of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, House of Representatives, Ninety-Fifth Congress" answer this accusation very well. These records provide detailed evidence given on 27, 28 and 29 December 1977, 4 and 5 January 1978 and 20 April 1978. Its 629 pages of solid evidence under the heading of "The CIA and the media" totally refute notions of "paranoia". The records clearly show that although the CIA, by the time of the inquiry, had been temporarily stopped from overtly employing U.S. journalists, it still had quite a number of foreign journalists on its payroll. Indeed, some of the discussion

centred on how to protect the local American media from disinformation doing the rounds in the overseas media and returning home as hard news.

The passages which particularly interested us concerned the book *Rush to Judgement* by Mark Lane, which criticised the Warren Commission report on President Kennedy's assassination and put forward a conspiracy theory to explain the event. The CIA, for reasons not revealed but easily guessed at, wanted to counter the book as well as others written on the subject. It sent a despatch to "Chiefs, certain stations and bases" on 4 January 1967, which stated:

> The aim of this despatch is to provide material for countering and discrediting the claims of the conspiracy theorists, so as to inhibit the circulation of such claims in other countries.

The despatch contained the following requests for action:

a) to discuss the publicity problem with liaison and friendly elite contacts (especially politicians and editors) . . . point out also that part of the conspiracy talk appears to be deliberately generated by communist propagandists. Urge them to use their influence to discourage unfounded and irresponsible speculation;

b) to employ propaganda assets to answer and refute the attacks of the critics. Book reviews and feature articles are particularly appropriate for this purpose.

The 4 January 1967 document then goes on to detail the material "assetts" should use in their reviews and articles. It also lists denigratory personal and political details of authors, which, in one case, was actually culled from old Gestapo files.

Later documents show that 9 other books on the same or similar subjects of Kennedy's assassination received the same treatment. There was also material to show that a "Spectator" article of 23 January 1967 was actually written along the CIA guidelines. Even more interesting, a proof copy of "Rush to Judgement" was obtained by the CIA at least two weeks prior to publication of the book.

Incidentally, you won't find copies of the "CIA and the Media" reports at your local library or university. However, you could apply to the U.S. Library of Congress next time you are in the United States.

Not only is this document evidence important in evaluating some of the so-called criticisms of our book, but it also illuminates some of our earlier experiences with the media.

For instance, in several articles written against CAPP, our actions in exposing individual snoops were compared to the work of *CounterSpy*, and writers, including Michael Barnard of the *Age,* blamed *CounterSpy's* exposures for the death of Athens CIA station chief, Richard Welsh.

But this official Congress report explains that this "link" was a CIA lie. In fact, Welsh had disregarded warnings from his associates not to move into the house of his predecessor because it was so well-known and because he would expose himself to retaliation for CIA involvement in the brutal regime

of the Greek "colonels". The anti-*CounterSpy* campaign in the world media deliberately ignored these facts. It is surely not an accident that this should have been revived in Australia by Michael Barnard in an anti-CAPP article years after it was exposed in the American Congress. It shows how peddlers of this sort of disinformation can count on the ignorance of most Australians whose media is not merely tame but, apparently, severely tainted.

Given this background, we know we are not paranoid in believing that our book, which is not only concerned with conspiracies, but with exposing the secret agencies themselves, would be in line for similar directives to those issued in the case of Lane's book *Rush to Judgement*. Previous and ongoing media campaigns against CAPP and myself involving journalists known to be mixed up with snoopers make such a conclusion a virtual certainty. Without drawing any inferences let me now describe in a little more detail two instances about which you can make up your own minds.

We go back to Anthony McAdam and the Melbourne *Herald* non-review. Anthony McAdam, who arrived in Australia from out of the blue apparently in the late 1970's, first tried for a job with a public radio station, but he didn't quite measure up. He then appeared as a "radio critic" for the *Age Green Guide*, where he maintained a constant and unremitting barrage of criticisms against the left and community radio stations 3CR and 3RRR. He was dismissed from that post, probably for being too obvious, and immediately reappeared as a weekly columnist with the Melbourne *Herald* and also commenced, in March 1982, to write a monthly column or commentary for the ultra-right-wing journal *Quadrant*, magazine for the Australian Association for Cultural Freedom.

A look at Mr McAdam's curriculum vitae is very illuminating. It looks as if some of his education must have taken place in secret or under an assumed name. For instance, he claims to have attended the London School of Economics in 1961 and yet his name does not occur in student records. He claims a BA (Hons) from the American University in Washington, DC in 1965. Again, no record. In 1967, he actually did get BA and MA degrees from the University of Toronto in Canada.

In the early to mid 1970's, he started a PhD at Edinburgh University, but left without completing his thesis or degree. He remained registered with the university as a non-resident student, but his study was terminated after several extensions of time.

Although he claimed to have gone to Oxford, there is apparently no record of his having registered as a student.

His only known overseas appointment was with the University College of Rhodesia, between 1968-1970, as an Assistant Lecturer, and later as a Lecturer in Political Science. For some reason, this appointment was not mentioned in his PhD application for Edinburgh University in 1973.

As well as all that, there are big gaps in his known record.

And from McAdam's latest article in *Quadrant*, it is once again clear that he has access to sources denied to ordinary media commentators.

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The second case concerns another so-called review, this time in the *Age*, written by Ken Gott, coyly described for the purpose as a "Melbourne free-lance journalist", headed, as previously mentioned, "Paranoia and Smears". In fact, there is a deal of nasty personal smearing in the review, but precious little actual reviewing. Gott is very concerned about our documented argument that U.S. domination of Australia is carried on, not only overtly and via secret agency manipulation, but also by way of American-based multinational organisations such as Business International, the Georgetown University think-tank and the American Chamber of Commerce to name but a few. Gott nitpicks some very minor errors, inevitable in a book containing such a vast amount of factual material, without ever coming to grips or even mentioning the main arguments of the book.

To illustrate Gott's method, I will quote from his review:

> It is alleged (in the book) that the *New York Times* in 1977 listed Business International as a long-term cover for the CIA. In fact the paper made no such allegations.

End of quote. What are the facts? The facts are that Business International provided cover for 4 CIA agents from 1955-60, and that this was first disclosed by the *New York Times* in December 1977. One must then ask why Ken Gott wishes to deny these facts, and why has he made a great show about our mis-stating the U.S. university which gave a degree to Alan Carroll, head of Business International in Australia. Indeed, given Gott's ALP membership, what is his association with a multinational outfit like Business International?

The answer is — a great deal. Gott's history is one of a multiplicity of involvements. After early Communist Party membership in which he occupied important roles in the Melbourne University branch, Gott worked for the Melbourne *Herald* and later for the *West Australian* newspaper. In the mid-1960's, he got a permanent visa to the United States at a time when ex-communists normally had no chance of even being allowed into the country. He appears to have moved almost immediately into an important job with Business International as editor, and later, as head of their Far East Bureau. His 12 year association with Business International ended abruptly in 1977, when he resigned.

Why did Gott resign?

He resigned over the very article in the *New York Times* he claimed, when reviewing our book, was never written. But public statements he made at the time were even more revealing. He disassociated himself from any involvement in CIA activities and, according to the London *Guardian*, wanted to make a public statement to reassure his Asian colleagues that he had never been mixed up in any intelligence activities. However, in a statement to Creighton Burns, who was at that stage Washington correspondent for the *Age*, Gott made it clear — and remember this was only a few short years after the bloody coup in Chile, masterminded by the CIA — that his only complaint against the CIA was that they infiltrated journalism. He said

> I am not out to taunt the already battered CIA. While there is a KGB, America needs a CIA.

Gott also referred to the CIA — which was spawned at the start of the Cold War — as having been "formed to defend democratic ways".

You can decide for yourself as to how impartial a reviewer Gott is. You can judge for yourself the motives which prompted Creighton Burns, who is now the *Age* editor, and who, as you can now see, knew all about Gott, to pick him to review our book and who listed him as a "free-lance journalist".

You can also judge for yourself why publisher Stephen Murray-Smith, the man who brought out Eysenck, infamous for his racist theories linking intelligence and race, to Australia, rushed to defend Gott in a subsequent exchange of letters, where Gott weakly asserted that his "no such thing" statement only referred to the actual words "long-term" rather than the substance of our facts. It is even more interesting that both Gott and Murray-Smith, in a personal attack, should further misquote from *Rooted in Secrecy* and make totally untrue allegations.

The third instance refers to a review in *Arena*, a literary journal which purports to be left-wing. This review, which was an incredible concoction of distortions and lies, was apparently offered to *Arena* by a person who claimed to represent some unspecified group which he said had met and discussed our book. I certainly don't intend to go into all the details, except to say that by a deliberate misquote, the impression is given that we don't supply any references whatever to back up our statements and analysis. Of course, the reality is that we have provided a copious reference section and bibliography at the back of the book. But even more diabolical, where we reproduce actual documents to show secret agency involvement in Ustasha terrorism, this character suggests that the documents may have been forged by us, despite our clear statement that they were part of a mass of material tabled by then Attorney-General Lionel Murphy in the Senate in March 1973.

You can only conclude that such denigration is an attempt to whitewash secret agencies. The author of the article claims to have taken part in an anti-ASIO demonstration, but one wonders in what capacity!

This case reminded us of a provocation where, some years ago, a phony group calling itself the "Proutist Student Federation" reproduced an out of date CAPP leaflet of ASIO names, without any backup explanation, but with a clear incitement to violence. In that case, the purpose was also obvious, given the fact that the leaflets were printed in Perth and the ASIO addresses were all in Melbourne.

We have also had to cope with a Scientology group, who were very reluctant originally to inform us of their background, and who tried to create a parallel organisation to our own, but naturally minus our radical demands for abolition. This mob even duplicated our well-known logo. But of course, this paralleling of a left-wing organisation with a tame-cat one is another tried and true and well-documented CIA activity.

But the disturbing activity of the *Arena* articles is not only that such garbage should be written, but that it should actually be published. That a so-called left political journal should accept an unsolicited contribution on a sensitive

subject which dishonestly attacks left political activities and left political activism itself is a matter of concern.

Even worse, is the apparent acceptance on the part of the editors that, so help me, you would need to forge documents to prove that the Ustasha worked hand-in-glove with Liberal governments and ASIO. Such attitudes more correctly belong in the pages of *Quadrant*.

To conclude, the response to our book *Rooted in Secrecy* very predictably shows the ganging up of different powerful sections of the establishment in defence of the intelligence network. But apart from this, it shows the divisions and weaknesses of the left and of marxism in Australia today. We have put up a fundamental thesis, namely, that our politics are almost completely at the mercy of clandestine forces which operate above and beyond the control of legal governments. To make any sort of change, we must first recognise this basic fact, because they are getting stronger and more sophisticated in their operations, and so far, no one has taken up the challenge to discuss this issue in relation to practical political work.

The difficulty with the way marxism is practised appears to be that too many marxists spend too much time thinking about the relevance of marxism without engaging in day-to-day activities which would prove its relevance.

And given the ever-growing possibility of our imminent destruction by the violent old pro-nuclear madmen who run things, especially in the United States, I would argue that it's about time we stopped re-arranging the chairs on the decks of the sinking Titanic and started to work in practical ways to apply our marxist theories to guarantee, not only our survival on this earth, but our participation in a genuinely socialist society.
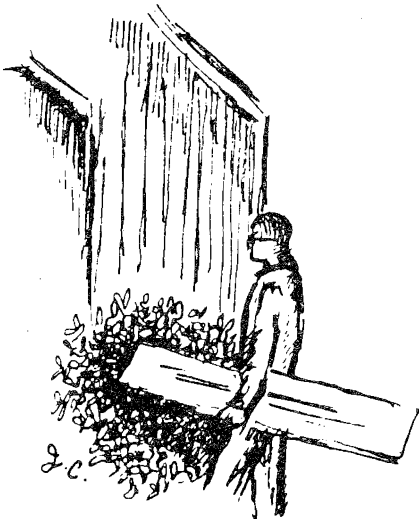
THIS FELLOW ABOUT TO ENTER ASIOS SECRET HQ APPEARS TO HAVE A MEDIUM SIZED PLANK OF WOOD UNDER HIS ARM. IF HE IS AN ASIO MAN WHY IN GOD'S NAME IS HE TAKING A MEDIUM SIZED PLANK OF WOOD INTO ASIO HQ? IF HE'S NOT AN ASIO MAN WHY IN GOD'S NAME IS HE TAKING A MEDIUM SIZED PLANK OF WOOD INTO ASIO HQ?

THE STATE AND THE EXPLANATION OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY[1]

Val Plumwood

One basic question raised by the existence and spread of nuclear technology is that of how far the state should be seen as the basic and central organ of social control, and of how far *other* factors of power and social control are involved in its explanation. So I want to look at the role of the state and of some other factors in the development of nuclear technology and try and see what conclusions about the centrality of the state are suggested by this. Nuclear technology is a particularly favourable example for a view with treats the state as the central organ of social control to which all other factors may be reduced or are subsidiary. But I want to argue that even in this most favourable case we need to look beyond state structures for an adequate explanation of the kind of social control involved in nuclear technology.

The question of how fundamental the role of the state has been in effecting the social control represented by nuclear technology is of course not independent of how both the state itself and social control are characterised. Social control can be viewed, as in traditional liberal theory, as exercised through the application or threat of application of a negative, external coercive force, or as a more complex mechanism of channelling, controlling or failing to provide opportunities for self-development or self-expression, a kind of impoverishment or denial of potential rather than positive repression. This corresponds of course to the distinction between negative conception of freedom as the *absence* of coercion versus the positive conception of it as autonomy or unfolding of self-development. A similar problem invades the conceptualisation of the state itself. The modern state operates of course *not* just as a negative or coercive force – the big NO of liberal theory, with the emphasis falling just on the operation of its coercive arms of the police and military – but also operates as a positive *producer*, as a controlling, channelling, centralising and ultimately often an impoverishing and potential-denying force, through its other aspect of bureaucracy, which replaces potential decentralised and non-hierarchical forms of *social* development and expression with alternative forms. If both the state and social control itself are conceptualised in this way, a much more complex analysis of the mechanisms of social control will certainly be needed. Social control will not just be seen in terms of coercive force, but then neither will the state be seen in this way, so the progression to a more complex analysis of power and social control does not *necessarily* rule out the view of the state as the basic organ of social control. This issue still has to be examined in particular cases. In the case of nuclear technology it seems that the state has operated to effect social control in *both* ways, both coercively through association with its coercive force of the military and through direct repression of opposition, and in a centralising fashion through failing to provide conditions for autonomous alternative social development, through bureaucratic control of choices and promotion and production of centralised options.

It is beyond question that the state has played a major role in the development of nuclear technology. It is in turn a technology which favours and increases state control and seems to threaten a whole new quantum leap in the degree of social and technological centralisation, surveillance and the curtailment of civil liberties. If it does become a major or *the* major source of energy, it does threaten the creation of a new, much more powerful and repressive state, with much closer links between 'civilian' and 'military' aspects of the state. The nuclear society seems likely to be quite close in some respect to Orwell's 1984, not only in terms of the increase in state power and centralisation, in repression and surveillance (already of course under way in the U.S.A.) but also in terms of the disregard for health, environment and the dominance of militaristic styles and priorities.

Nuclear power's close connection with the state (here I'm going to recoup some data that will be familiar to a number of you) began of course with the development of the nuclear bomb. The bomb and the Manhattan Project was the result of the great mobilisation by the state of scientific expertise for the purposes of war. The development of nuclear weapons continued unabated after World War II however, fuelled by cold war rivalry. But the military protram needed a 'peaceful', 'civilian' front, and civilian nuclear power in the Atoms for Peace program was developed in the 1950s, with the first reactor beginning operation in 1955.

There has been not only an initial but a continuing close link between the state military nuclear program and the civilian nuclear power industry. The technological basis — the equipment, skills and knowledge — used for the development of nuclear power is the same as that developed for nuclear weapons. Thus numerous countries, eg. Pakistan and India in 1974, have been able to develop nuclear weapons on the basis of a so-called 'civilian' program, and others eg. Argentina, Israel and now even Australia, are considering taking the same route. Civilian reactors have supplied plutonium for the weapons program (eg. Calder Hall in Great Britain), and the Hanford reactor in the U.S. is intended not only for power production but for plutonium production for the weapons program. Since plutonium for the stepped-up U.S. weapons program is in short supply this trend is likely to remain, and new technologies such as Laser Isotope Technology will make the links between civilian and nuclear programs even closer. Thus the first report of the Ranger Inquiry wrote:

'All the main nuclear weapons states attained their supplies by means of special projects in military nuclear technology. The first nuclear reactors were built solely to produce weapons-grade plutonium, and the first enrichment plants were constructed to produce very highly enriched uranium for bombs. The nuclear power industry developed from these projects; indeed even today commercial enrichment capacity consists largely of plants originally built to produce highly enriched uranium for nuclear weapons.'

(p. 116, First Report, Ranger Uranium Enquiry)

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Not only are the historical links with the military and hence the state very close, but the state has continually and very vigorously promoted nuclear power over rivals which are often more 'economic'. This has been done through a variety of techniques including:

    – heavy investment in research on nuclear over alternatives, and creation, maintenance and promotion of so-called 'regulatory' agencies, – 'captured' bureaucracies.

    – shouldering of the enormous financial risks associated with nuclear power eg. by the U.S. Government in the Price-Anderson Act.

    – straight subsidization drain, estimated to be as high as $100,000 million U.S. dollars.

Elsewhere, in France, Japan, the Soviet Union, West Germany and Britain for example, the state has played an even larger role in the development and promotion of nuclear power in relation to capital, and the industry is outright state-controlled. In Australia the state has played a heavy role in fostering and subsidising uranium mining, sometimes in the face of some reluctance from corporations. The proposed enrichment facility, the Lucas Heights reactor, and research programs oriented to a uranium industry are all heavily state-supported rather than promoted by the private sector.

The nuclear industry then has been largely state-developed, owned and promoted. We can't explain the phenomenon of its development, in the face of apparently major problems, risks and disadvantages, without seeing the state as having a crucial and largely independent role, independent that is of its more conventionally-attributed role of protecting long-term capitalist interests.

Nuclear technology is not obviously in the interests of capital, although it does have numerous features which make it attractive for profit-making eg. it is capital-intensive, large-scale, centralised and suitable for monopolisation. So of course are many other possible energy sources. But capital has required constant coaxing and reassurance to continue to participate, and the industry would apparently have become defunct some time ago if those mythical "market forces" had been allowed to prevail. Thus there have been no new orders for reactors in the U.S. since 1977, and the industry is in a financial mess even *with* the highly favourable conditions provided by the state.[2]

The industry does however seem to be highly suited to increasing the power of the *state* itself, both through its military connection, and through its contribution to overall technological, social and bureaucratic centralisation.

This seems to present a fairly clear case than where the state has operated with some relative autonomy in promoting a technology which appears to be in its own interests rather than primarily that of capital, and to be the chief promoter and beneficiary of the industry which capitalism has to be coaxed to support.

II

So far the data I have presented is consistent both with a sophisticated Marxist theory which allows some relative autonomy[3] to institutions such as the state, and with more traditional anarchist theories which see the state as the central organ of social repression and the production of hierarchical social

relationships and associated technologies (this last a modern addition). There are however other factors which have to be taken into account to understand the kind of social control being exercised here, and which show that the state-reduction model – the reduction of all significant factors to the state (or to some combination of state and capital) is too simple and has other defects as well. These factors show the need to press on beyond purely state or other reductive models and to develop a more pluralistic model of the operation of power which sees power as "a productive network which runs through the entire social body much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression".[4]

Of these other factors of explanation, a major one is the intellectual division of labour and the role of the scientific elite, which shows the *positive* operation of power in forming knowledge. The scientific elite has provided a major source of support for nuclear technology and a major reason for its continued existence, not only for the usual personal individual career reasons (promotion of an area in which the scientist has acquired an investment and opportunities for expansion), or even because of the opportunity for scientific-bureaucratic expansion and increase in control, but because elite concepts of knowledge and of the superiority of elite-based or elite-promoting technologies have influenced the very forms of a criterion for what counts as *respectable* knowledge. Another factor here is the way in which the myth of the value-freedom of science is employed to escape recognition of the value systems served by technologies such as nuclear. The division of labour is employed to discourage people, in this case scientists, from examining the social consequences of their work and to prevent them taking responsibility (or assist them in avoiding it). This is achieved through the division of the *technical* and the *political* – the latter being the province of the special caste of political managers. The immense importance of this mechanism of social control is demonstrated by the enormous threat Green Bans, which challenged this division of technical and political labour, posed to the system, and the sorts of measures taken to repress and prevent their re-emergence. It is also demonstrated in the sort of treatment meted out to dissenting scientists and experts, both in nuclear and other areas, who attempt to take some sort of responsibility for the social effects of their work. This factor is focussed on in the 'self-management' critique of nuclear-power.[5]

Some other factors involved in the production of the sort of technology represented by nuclear power are patriarchy, and the ideology of the domination of nature: these are limited in the treatment of the subjugated object as a mere *instrument* to the attainment of the goals of the powerful. The operation of power is indicated by the existence of a corresponding area of resistance (a sufficient but not necessary condition), and an examination of these can help to determine the factors of control operating. The foci of resistance to nuclear technology have been diverse and have by no means just consisted of state-resisting groups or resulted from concentration on its centralising, state- or capital-strengthening potential. Opposition to the increasing power of the

scientific elite, to its managerial character in removing control and respon-
sibility from ordinary people, has also been a focus, as has also of course been
concern for citizen health and for the environment and well-justified distrust
of state 'protective' and 'regulatory' mechanisms which allegedly guarantee
protection of these.

Nuclear power has been the focus of at least the following critiques:

(1) anarchist — the critique of the state-strengthening and centralising
features of nuclear technology

(2) marxist — the critique of its class and economic basis (strengthening
of capitalism and of monopolisation of energy sources)

(3) feminism — critique of patriarchal features lying behind nuclear
power and nuclear weapons

(4) environmental — critique of its effect on the natural world, on future
generations

(5) alternative energy — critique of nuclear energy as an extreme expres-
sion of the anti-human character of industrial society, of its technology, scale,
regimentation of people etc.

(6) 'public interest' — critique of bureaucracy, protective and regulative
aspects and health and safety for citizens and workers

(7) 'anti-professionalism' — critique of the hierarchical structures and
division of labour involved in it

(8) critique of forms of knowledge it expresses emanating from hierar-
chical power relations (radical science critique)

(9) critique of its effects on aboriginal land and culture through mining,
testing, etc.

III

The diversity of sources of resistance, and of critiques of the technology
suggest that despite the pre-eminence of the state the sources of social control
can best be understood in terms of a pluralistic and non-reductionist position
on power and social control, rather than one which sees the technology prima-
rily in terms of one factor, in terms of the state. This pluralistic position is once
again nicely expressed by Foucault and this aspect of his thinking seems to have
virtues of its own which can be considered somewhat independently of the rest
of his often obscure and problematic philosophical system.

> "I don't want to say that the state is not important; what I want
> to say is that relations of power and hence the analysis that must
> be made of them, necessarily extend beyond the limits of the
> State. In two respects: first of all because the State, for all the
> omnipotence of its apparatuses, is far from being able to occupy
> the whole field of actual power relations, and further because
> the State can only operate on the basis of other, already existing
> power relations."[6]

The second claim seems to me much more problematic than the first, but I
want to suggest then that this picture, or something like it, corresponds much

more closely to the sort of picture which emerges when we look at the power factors involved in nuclear power, despite the fact that this case is one especially *favourable* to a state-reductionist analysis (that is, one which attempts to reduce other sources of power ultimately to the state, in much the same way that versions of Marxism have attempted to reduce all power factors ultimately to economic or class ones). The state has an important role, but not an exclusive one, and it is far from clear how other important factors involved can be *reduced* to simple *adjuncts* or *satellites* of the state system. In fact it is fairly clear that some of them, such as patriarchy which *predates* the state, cannot be so reduced.

If we assume that the critical dimension of explanation in a fundamentally *anarchist* critique, as contrasted with a Marxist one, is one in terms of *power*, whereas that of Marxism is that of economic factors or of *class* defined in economic terms — a thesis as I recall suggested a few years ago by Bob James — then this kind of pluralistic, non-reductive analysis associated especially with Foucault and suggesting a number of foci of explanation can be seen as a more sophisticated contemporary development of anarchist social theory. It would bear something like the same kind of relation to crude reductionist forms of anarchism which attempted to reduce all explanatory factors to the state[7] as more sophisticated contemporary forms of Marxism which allow some autonomy to the state and other structures such as patriarchy, bear to older, cruder forms which attempted to reduce all factors and explanations directly to economic and class ones. In the latter Marxist case however there is still usually a determination to reduce factors ultimately to class ones, and what is at stake is *how much* autonomy is permitted and how closely the satellite foci of explanation (ideology, bureaucracy, patriarchy) have to orbit around the central sun of class.

Such pluralistic explanations don't have to amount to a mere fragmented collage of different unrelated factors, as sometimes charged by those espousing reductive explanations. The factors involved can be seen as interacting; as mutually reinforcing (or in some cases as conflicting), and as related in ways which can be the subject of investigation. In fact the way in which they *are* related then becomes an important *area* for investigation. One virtue of such a non-reductive position is that it enables the taking up of the different critiques of power of different contemporary social resistance movements while avoiding the position of necessarily trying to establish one (eg. the state, discourse, capitalism) as basic and the others as subsidiary. Of course this does not commit one to a "never-eliminate-a-factor" methodology, but rather to a stance of methodological tolerance of pluralism in explanation unless there is good ground to reduce or eliminate one factor or another. The onus on proof then falls on those who would present a case for the reduction, rather than the other way around (as in reductionist methodologies).

IV

Such a pluralistic explanatory framework for social control necessarily leads to different analyses both for strategies for actual groups and issues and for anarchism as a social movement. An appropriate strategy for the defeat

of nuclear power must be one which takes account, as far as possible, of all these critiques, resistances and associated alternative goals, rather than just concentrating for example on the political defeat of nuclear power at the state level. Such a strategy should take account of or adopt means appropriate to the multiple goals arising from these critiques and of nuclear power as a product of a particular network of power relations which stand behind it, rather than as itself the ultimate political target.[8]

What is clear from recent events in Australia is the importance of moving beyond a narrow, 'political' approach to the nuclear issue to one which is based on an analysis of the power structures embedded in it. This is important for the survival of the anti-nuclear movement as an important social force in Australia. The anti-nuclear movement in Australia has had great strength and by some criteria, great success. But the recent treatment of the issue at the hands of politicians illustrates vividly the ultimate bankruptcy of elite-oriented strategies for change based on appeals to decision-makers and working within a state and electoral framework. An inability to focus on alternative strategies will probably cause the death or serious weakening of the movement in the coming period of political confrontation, yet its demise as a widespread activist issue would be a serious loss. An alternative approach, stressing long-term strategies and institutional analysis, has great promise because the multiplicity of factors, critiques and sites of resistance to nuclear power gives the issue great potential to focus and unite resistance to a wide range of structures of social control. And such a social movement also has the ability to bring about or reinforce social awareness of the undemocratic character of social life and of the need for other sorts of fundamental changes in social relations, provided of course that the *means* adopted, for example, for working in groups, are themselves appropriate to these multiple goals and sufficiently challenging to day-to-day hierarchical social relationships and power structures eg. sexist and racist ones.[9]

In this strategy then the critique of the role of the state is critical, but it must be combined with a critique of the wider power structures involved. What implications does this analysis have for anarchism itself? Does anarchism emerge as just another form of activism and critique, and anarchists as *anti-state activists* along with feminists as anti-patriarchy activists for example? This may seem quite threatening to many anarchists, since it threatens the claim to a more central or 'purer' position.

Such a view however ignores the *relation* between the different critiques — it assumes that they just coexist peacefully side-by-side as separate pieces of an overall puzzle, needing only to be assembled in their separate purity to provide the whole. It also ignores the important role anarchism can play in providing a critique, not only of general power structures, but of the *means* and strategies adopted by other social movements. This concern with *means* and the stress on appropriate ways of pursuing other political goals, has been traditionally important in anarchist thought.

If anarchism is conceived, to a large extent at least, as involving another

way of doing *something else*, of pursuing other social and political goals and effecting social changes in appropriate ways, rather than just as a utopian and unrealizable goal, disconnected from strategies and from other movements for social change, then there *is* an important relationship between anarchism and other social movements for change. Links with other activist groups become crucial, as does attention to the means by which particular resistances to particular forms of power are conducted. Stress on purity of anarchist doctrine, on 'keeping the hands clean' by not mixing it with less idealistic or utopian social movements must then be seen as sterile and self-defeating, and as removing this fertile area for achieving change. The real challenge to contemporary anarchism, conceived of as a general resistance to hierarchical and centralising structures, would then be in the struggle *within* movements for social change for appropriate non-hierarchical processes and to achieve alternative social relations, as well as for the adoption of non-centralising means for achieving particular social goals. Anarchism on this picture has a crucial role to play for other social movements in maintaining the means/ends critique, and in promoting non-centralising and non state-strengthening strategies for other activist movements. Other social movements such as the anti-nuclear movement then provide a crucial 'field' for anarchism, which, to the extent that it is a *general* critique of power and of processes for achieving change, may still have some claim to a *central* (if not *centralising* or *reductive*) role.

References and footnotes

1. I'd like to acknowledge the benefit I've had from working with others in the FOE group in Canberra, including Brian Martin, in thinking about these ideas.
2. See Chris Flyn, 'Nuclear Power's Financial Meltdown in the U.S.', *Science for the People*, Vol. 16, No. 1, Jan/Feb 1984, pp. 6 - 9.
3. The notion of 'relative autonomy' is however so potentially elastic that it seems capable of being stretched to cover almost any possible counter-example.
4. Michel Foucault, p. 36, 'Truth and Power' in Paul Patton and Meaghan Morris (eds.), *Power, Truth, Strategy*, Feral Publications, Sydney, 1979.
5. See for example Brian Martin, *The Bias of Science*, published by Society for Social Responsibility in Science (ACT), Canberra, 1979. Brian Martin, *Changing the Cogs*, F.O.E., Canberra, 1979. Brian Martin, 'The Goal of Self-Managed Science', *Radical Science Journal*, No. 10, 1980, pp. 3 - 17.
6. Michel Foucault, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
7. There has always been *some* recognition in classical anarchism of the necessity to combat forms of power outside the state, but on the whole not much attention has been given to these by anarchists, and for most purposes the assumption has been that the state was central, so that these forms would 'wither away'.

8. This view of the appropriate strategy on nuclear power is outlined in A. Bowling, B. Martin, V. Plumwood and I. Watson, *Strategy Against Nuclear Power*, published by F.O.E. (Canberra), January, 1984.
9. One has only to consider the way in which feminism emerged from attention to group process in the new left and civil rights movements, to appreciate the importance of attention to means and to the potential clash with alleged ideals.
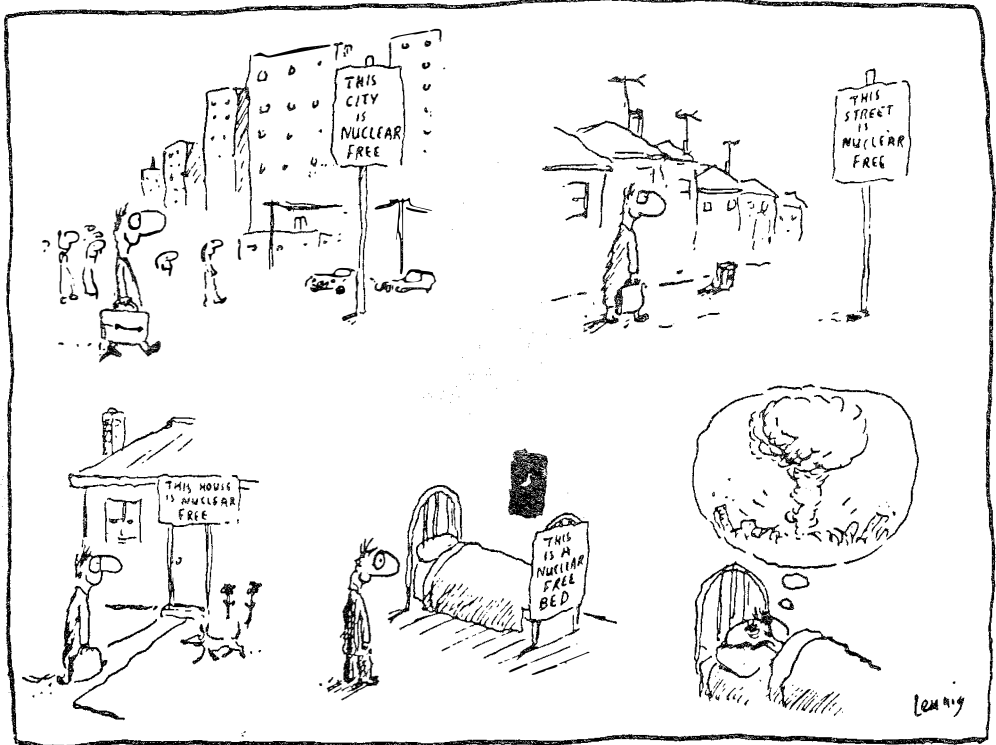
BRIAN MARTIN

Uprooting War

FREEDOM PRESS

BUREAUCRACY

Friends of the Earth (Canberra)   *

Bureaucracy is an important modern phenomenon. Until a few hundred years ago, bureaucracies were found in only a few special parts of society. Now they are widespread, and continue to penetrate more and more aspects of life. Bureaucracy is a way of organising the work and interactions of a large number of people by the use of hierarchy, a high division of labour and a system of rules and standard operating procedures. Bureaucracy is the organising principle of most government departments, corporations, armies, political parties, communist regimes, trade unions and professional bodies.

People concerned about environmental issues often are frustrated by bureaucracies. Many corporations and government bodies either cause or contribute to environmental problems.

* Mining companies exploit minerals and energy supplies.

* Chemical companies create dangerous substances.

* Electricity authorities develop centralised supply systems based on coal or nuclear power.

* Forestry commissions engage in clearfelling, destruction of native forests for pine and other environmentally damaging practices.

* Food processors and agricultural chemical companies press for monocultures, heavy pesticide use and factory farming.

* Automobile manufacturers and main roads departments promote a car-based industrial and transport system.

Many bureaucracies are unresponsive to public concern about environmental or other social problems with which they are linked. Perhaps the best known case in Australia is the Tasmanian Hydroelectric Commission, which not only produces hydroelectric power but also utilises political power. Other bureaucracies are sometimes willing to study and occasionally promote environmentally sound policies. But often this occurs only after massive efforts by lobbying or public protest. There seems to be few ways for bureaucracies to respond to community concerns as part of a continuing process of communication, learning and adaptation between members of the bureaucracy and of the community.

Members of Friends of the Earth in Canberra have recognised that bureaucracy is a key obstacle in coming to grips with environmental problems. We are also aware that the problem is associated with bureaucracy as a form of social organisation rather than with the individuals who work in bureaucracies, who almost without exception are well-intentioned. We have studied some of the important writings about bureaucracy and gained an understanding of how bureaucracies operate in society. But we also wanted to see how others saw bureaucracy from the inside. To do this we decided to talk to some of the people who worked in a division of the Department of National Development and Energy (now Resources and Energy). Since we were interested in the

experiences of people in bureaucracies, we could have chosen just about any government department. We chose the one we did mainly because we knew something about energy issues and so could understand more of what people had to say about their work.

During the latter half of 1982 we contacted most people within the division chosen and invited each individual to talk with us informally and give their personal views about issues of job satisfaction and decision-making in the department. Many people were uninterested or apprehensive about doing this, so we can only comment on the views expressed by those who were willing to be interviewed. We also had a meeting with several senior officers in the Department to hear official views. We are grateful to all those who talked with us for their participation and for the insights they provided.

Insights from the Interviews

Our aim in the interviews was not to perform an empirical survey of opinions, but rather to compare our understanding of bureaucracy with the views of people at different levels within one. For example, we knew of alternatives to bureaucracies but wanted to find out if others were aware of them.

There were three main areas which we explored in our interviews. One of these was decision-making in a bureaucracy, and the related issues of hierarchy and the division of labour.

Respondents generally identified a strict hierarchy in the Department. Many believed however that the rigidity of the system depended significantly on the attitude of particular superiors. Some superiors encourage feedback and liaise more with lower level staff, while others are more authoritarian and stick strictly to the established lines of command. Most respondents saw the problems with the public service — including resistance to new ideas and lack of feedback — as due to personalities rather than structures. This contrasts with the view, which is common in studies of bureaucracy, that the bureaucratic structure of the public service pressures people to act in ways which conform to the hierarchy and that some adapt to this pattern immediately, while others retain differing degrees of independence.

It seemed to us that respondents did not identify one particular pattern of decision-making in the Department: their explanations continually focussed on personalities. For example, they thought that good or bad decisions stemmed from particular superiors.

Several respondents commented that although staff at all levels were free to sugges changes and ideas, the hierarchy appeared to provide a filtering system for advice from below: high level staff were often slow to move on new ideas or opposed them. This filtering effect had a substantial effect on the kinds of proposals which people from below put forward, producing a kind of self-censorship in which only ideas which were likely to appeal to superiors were suggested.

Several respondents also commented that those who did not 'fit in' or whose ideas were too divergent from the norm were not favoured and either remained in low level positions or left the department. Thus the system selected people

who fitted into the structure and who did not rock the boat too much.

We noticed that the Department has a relatively high proportion of people with economics degrees compared with scientists, engineers and social scientists. The dominance of economics and of economic criteria in the decision-making process and for evaluating proposals has many negative consequences. The standard economic framework is a very restrictive one, which deals with most environmental risks, for example, only as an afterthought — as 'externalities' — and usually accepts existing physical infrastructure and lifestyles as givens. The prevalence of economists in the public service, especially in powerful positions, means among other things that renewable energy sources and other environmentally advantageous options are evaluated from a singularly unfavourable perspective.

We asked most interviewees whether they had ever had a conflict between their personal views and the things they were required to do. They reported that such conflicts almost never occurred, and that when they did they were almost always resolved by submerging their personal views. This was rationalised as being a 'professional' attitude. Indeed, many respondents had almost completely come to view the world from a public service orientation. For quite a few, especially those at higher levels, it was impossible to distinguish personal and official views.

A second main area covered in the interviews was job satisfaction. At all levels most people indicated general satisfaction with the aims and functions of the Department. They generally felt that the Department had the potential to be socially relevant. This finding may be somewhat unrepresentative, though, since a high fraction of respondents were from areas of more obvious social relevance.

Several replies drew attention to the lack of job satisfaction at the lower levels, although often dissatisfaction was masked by anticipation of mobility or change. Those higher up the hierarchy often felt dissatisfaction with particular decisions and with their own relative lack of power. People who were satisfied often were those who saw their work as bringing results or as being responsible or worthwhile in terms of community goals or their own beliefs. For those lower in the hierarchy, there were decreased opportunities for the use of discretion and interpretation, and for determining goals. Work tended to be perceived as more boring and less satisfying and less personally fulfilling. The fact that some respondents felt that having a satisfying and responsible job was more important than an increase in pay or other material incentives illustrates the great importance attached to job satisfaction.

To reduce the frustration caused by constant rejection of proposals or redrafting of letters, most respondents saw that they had to pitch their arguments in a certain way so as to conform to 'political realities'. Some suggested such an approach was necessary to obtain promotion, after which one's power to influence decisions and one's job satisfaction would increase. We noted that few mentioned that after many years of conforming with the official line and finally attaining a senior level, they might have a vested interest in retaining

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the status quo and their new found power.

Others (generally at more senior levels) suggested that even while conforming to these 'realities' it was possible to effect some changes, eg. by the addition of subtle, persuasive sections in briefings, recommendations, speeches, etc. Those who did not wish to pursue this road to power and satisfaction usually devoted more time to and gained more satisfaction from activities outside their jobs. Those who were committed to rising in the hierarchy to achieve power (whether they were at high or lower levels) usually saw those who were more interested in outside activities as lazy. On the contrary, studies of bureaucracy and several of our interviews suggest these people were disillusioned with the existing structure and procedures.

The Departmental elites saw their Department operating as one big happy family. They also suggested that the only answer to overcoming routine and boring tasks in low-level jobs was for the individual to gain promotion to areas where the work was more challenging and the chance to influence decisions was greater. But plainly this answer to personal boredom and dissatisfaction will only work for a handful of people. After all, the pyramidal structure of a bureaucracy depends on a large number of people at the bottom whose jobs are inevitably unsatisfying.

The third and final major area raised in the interview was the question of how the bureaucracy might be restructured to be both more satisfying to work in and more responsive to community interests. Only a minority of respondents saw this as an important problem. There were a number of suggestions presented, such as taking ideas directly to people high in the hierarchy above one's immediate boss, job exchanges between the public service and outside groups (including environmental groups), and the use of the freedom of information legislation. The most common idea was that the bureaucracy could only be changed by political initiative from the top, such as by a reforming political party. This was not seen as very likely. There was little general awareness of alternatives to bureaucracy and, even among those sympathetic to change in bureaucratic structures, little idea of how change might come about. Quite a few respondents made a strong point that it was a waste of time to try to change bureaucratic structures, so convinced were they of the necessity of the present structure.

Many people were uninterested or apprehensive about being interviewed. After several initial interviews, we were asked by a senior officer not to contact people during office hours on the premises. We then obtained written permission from the Secretary of the Department to hold interviews outside working hours and off the premises. Despite this official permission and the complete confidentiality of the material, it became apparent that many staff were afraid to be interviewed and express their real views because of possible repercussions. For example, one person we called said he would have liked to be interviewed if it did no harm to him and was of some benefit to us, but he said this was not the case. In addition, several people expressed their disapproval of our method of approaching members of the department directly instead of going through official channels. Both the fear of personal risk and the dis-

approval of our methods illustrated for us the difficulty community groups face in interacting with bureaucracies in ways not controlled from the top.

The Nature of Bureaucracy

The interviews helped us in understanding better the operation of bureaucracies as seen from the inside, and supplemented our studies of the nature of bureaucracy. The characteristic features of bureaucracy are hierarchy, a specialised division of labour, rules describing the duties and rights of members, a set of standard operating procedures and impersonal relations between staff. In an ideal bureaucracy, individuals become interchangeable parts with uniform, circumscribed functions. For the most part our interviews confirmed this standard picture.

One of our conclusions is that the frustration, the lack of job satisfaction inside bureaucracies, and the lack of responsiveness to community interests stem from the hierarchical structure of bureaucratic organisation. This structure decreases job satisfaction for those inside, so that the unlucky majority who have fewer opportunities for discretion and for integrating work into a whole task find their jobs boring and unsatisfying. But it also means decreased responsiveness to community groups and a hidden political agenda.

It is often taken for granted that bureaucracies are neutral administrative machines and that the hierarchical mode of organisation is the most efficient. However, we believe that a bureaucracy is better viewed as a political system. Oppositions within bureaucracies are the rule rather than the exception and are similar to political oppositions within authoritarian states. Those who work in bureaucracies are not permitted freedom of speech in public dissent from policies and learn to submerge their own convictions and values in those of the organisation. This is quite similar to the way all citizens are treated in authoritarian states. The restraints on bureaucrats are legitimated by the claim of adminstrative neutrality.

Bureaucracies should not be seen in isolation from the rest of society. In many cases particular bureaucracies can be seen as the tools of political masters, whether this is the government or a corporation. But the choice of a particular organisational form — bureaucracy or some other form — as a tool is just as important as the choice of an axe or a butter knife to butter bread: the tool is easier to use for some purposes than others. Tools and bureaucracies are both products of society and an influence on the direction of society. 'Political masters' cannot simply do anything they like with bureaucracies, because bureaucracies are only suited for doing certain sorts of tasks, and this shapes the expectations of political elites about what should be done. Furthermore, political parties, parliaments and corporations are bureaucratic in form themselves, partly because this allows them to mesh more easily with government bureaucracies.

The political or value commitments of bureaucracies — the hidden political agenda — are often disguised, but usually come to the surface when there are dissidents within the bureaucracy. People who offend against the hidden interests of the bureaucracy, and especially 'whistle-blowers' — those who make

public their dissatisfaction or their dissenting opinions – are subject to numerous penalties. For example, they may lose their chance of promotion. When David Berthelson, as a private citizen, made certain criticisms of the Department of Defence to a parliamentary committee, the response of the Department was basically to dismiss the criticisms and to apply pressure to restrain David Berthelson.

The division of labour involved in bureaucracy is not so much designed for technical efficiency as for concentrating and maintaining elite power and control. A similar process occurs in technological change. The selection, design and use of many technologies, such as nuclear power and numerically controlled machine tools, enable control of workers and maintain existing power structures. According to Stephen Marglin's analysis of the origins of the industrial revolution, the grouping together of workers in factories was actually less efficient than previous work organisations in terms of output of goods from a given input of resources and labour. But the factory system forced employees to work longer hours and gave the owners rather than the workers control over the output. The owners thus had a surplus to invest. Bureaucratic structures function in a similar way to control those who work in them, to filter out alternative arrangements and to maintain basically conservative policies.

Several things follow from this view of bureaucracy as a political form of organisation rather than as a neutral administrative system.

* First, there is nothing intrinsically virtuous in being a model public servant and working through the system. On the contrary, voicing dissent inside or outside the bureaucracy should be considered to be as ethical as voicing political dissent in a democracy.

* Second, it is legitimate for community groups to interact directly with those who work in bureaucracies, rather than proceeding through the hierarchy and 'the normal channels'.

* Third, attempts to overcome the linked problems of bureaucracy for workers and communities by attempting to make it conform more closely to the model of administrative neutrality and accountability are misconceived. A better approach would be to recognise the political character of bureaucracy rather than trying to disguise it and to adopt structures which enable workers in bureaucracies to relate their work directly to community goals.

Alternatives to Bureaucracy

Are there any alternatives to current bureaucracies? Is it possible to organise work in a more decentralised and participatory way, and still maintain efficiency?

One well tested alternative to hierarchical work organisation is the autonomous work group. This is a group of say 4 to 12 workers – typically at shop floor level – who collectively decide on how their job will be done and how the tasks will be divided up or rotated. Sometimes such groups develop spontaneously, as in the case of coal mining in Britain prior to mechanisation and at the shopfloor level in many heavy industries. There have also been a wide

range of planned experiments with autonomous work groups. In most cases the technical as well as the social aspects of the work are reorganised, and so this alternative is sometimes referred to as socio-technical design.

The experience with autonomous work groups has been highly successful. No one is forced to join a work group, but for those who do, job satisfaction, creativity and initiative almost invariably increase. In addition, productivity is maintained and usually increased. Because of greater job satisfaction, turn-over, absenteeism and sabotage are reduced.

To take only one of many possible examples, in an experiment at a pulp mill in Norway, work was reorganised so that skills were upgraded and job rotation was introduced in limited form. The results included:
* improvement in quality and costs of production;
* better communication and teamwork between operators;
* many suggestions from the workers for technical improvements.

Because of the practical advantages of greater industrial democracy, many companies are trying out this alternative.

Alternatives to top-level management structures in bureaucracies are not so well tested, but there are some examples worth considering. ·Although bureaucratic organisation is widespread in modern society, it is a development mainly of the past two centuries. Before that, communities were more self-sufficient and autonomous, and communicated through networks. There is no technical reason why greater self-sufficiency, networks and federations could not serve instead of many of today's bureaucracies.

There are many times in which a choice must be made between centralised and decentralised systems. For example, the technology of nuclear power, by its large size and high capital cost, potential danger and dependence on experts, is linked with the centralised political and economic control associated with large bureaucracies. By contrast, energy efficiency and use of small-scale decentralised renewable energy technologies would allow more individual and local community control over energy planning, and favour interaction via networks.

To take another example: with television, communication is rigidly controlled and passes from the few to the many. On the other hand, the postal system allows unfettered communication from the many to the many.

One little tried alternative to the usual management structures is the 'lot' or 'jury' system. Coordination and management functions – for example for a group of autonomous work groups – would be handled by a committee whose members were drawn by lot from all relevant workers, in the style of ancient Greek democracy. The committee would have a gradually rotating membership to preserve continuity, and would be able to call on experts. Although inexperience might still be a problem, the great advantage of not having permanent managers is that coordinators drawn by lot would be less vulnerable to the blandishments of vested interests. This system would also make it harder for power-seeking individuals to attain dominance. Decision-making would be shared around and real meaning given to the word democracy.

Coordinating committees would not have to be restricted to workers, but could include consumers, pensioners, and others affected by the enterprise in question. In this way organisations could be made more responsive to a wide range of community interests.

When people get a chance to participate in a meaningful way in decisions affecting their lives, there is usually a great upsurge of popular involvement, enthusiasm and creativity. For example, the opportunities opened up by the Solidarity movement in Poland, before the military coup, led to an enormous groundswell of democratic involvement in not only trade unions but also in other areas such as the media and the arts.

A non-bureaucratic alternative to a department of energy might take the form of a set of autonomous groups of skilled people, each focussing on particular problems such as energy efficiency, energy self-reliance, safety, etc. A coordinating committee to monitor the progress of these groups might be composed of individuals, chosen by lot for a fixed period, from the groups themselves, from energy workers, from energy producers and consumers and others in the general community. With such an arrangement, workers would have continual feedback from and accountability to community interests.

They would also be better able to see their work as part of a whole and put it in the context of community concern.

If workers had more say in what are now management decisions, would they just use this power to pad their pockets? The available evidence shows otherwise. The best example is the alternative corporate plan developed by the workers at Lucas Aerospace in Britain. Instead of concentrating on aerospace components, the workers suggested using their skills to produce kidney machines, road-rail vehicles, heat pumps and other products filling a real social need. Not only are the proposals by the workers very oriented to community needs, but the whole exercise has released an enormous creative potential in workers, a potential left untapped by the traditional management structure.

The alternatives to bureaucratic organisation have their strengths and weaknesses, and some of them have barely been developed. Our aim here is not to spell out precise directions for particular departments, but to suggest that there are some alternatives that might well be investigated.

Further reading:

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Deena Weinstein, *Bureaucratic Opposition: Challenging Abuses at the Workplace* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1979).

Trevor A. Williams, *Learning to Manage our Futures: The Participative Redesign of Societies in Turbulent Transition* (New York: Wiley, 1982).

Have you agreed or disagreed with the ideas in this article? We would be interested in hearing about your reactions. Please pass them on to
Rosemary Walters, 47 8868, or
Ian Watson, 47 0573, or
Brian Martin, 49 4445 (work), 48 5426 (home),
or write to
Friends of the Earth, GPO Box 1875, Canberra, ACT, 2601.

Editors Note:
This paper was given to us by Brian Martin who lives in Canberra and who works as an applied mathematician. Brian has been active for many years in the radical science, environmental and peace movements. Brian spoke on Bureaucracy at the conference and although the paper is not an exact transcription of his discussion, it does broadly outline many of the areas and ideas raised by him in the session. A further discussion of his ideas on bureaucracy and its relation to the War Industry is contained in his most recent publication *Uprooting War*, Freedom Press, 1984.

1984: fReeDom ...TO OBEY!!!

SPIES IN AUSTRALIA – NOT A CIVIL LIBERTIES ISSUE

Bob James

I want to cover a lot of ground in a short time and leave lots of time for dis-
cussion, so my argument presented here is going to be composed largely of
assertions and generalisations. I hope people won't assume that the detailed
supportive evidence is not available. Some of what I'm saying today is an ex-
tension of my ANZAAS 1981 paper, *Spies and Secret Political Police in 19th
Century Australia: An Introduction*, and I refer people to that paper for detail
not presented here and references.

If one looks at books by historians on periods of major social upheaval in
Australia, one finds that the reasons given for the lack of revolution, or for
substantial gains by the radical forces or for the methods of suppression of
dissidents, fall under the general heading of 'the law'. Just two examples,
about the period I know best, the 1890s Strike period; Brian Fitzpatrick con-
cluded that it was the law that 'put to flight the Queensland Shearers' Union,
the QLU and the ALF' in 1981 and by extension for the whole period 1890-
94; Kenway concluded that 'more than anything else the arrests and trials
of union leaders demonstrated the futility of continuing the [1891] strike'
and (had) the [1894] strike continued the operation of the Peace Preservation
Act [would have left] all union officers and organisers utterly defenceless'.

More 'radical' observers have extended this notion of 'the law' to include
State violence, used or threatened by legally constituted arms of the State,
the police and military. Connell and Irving speak repeatedly of 'working class
mobilisation' being contained by State initiatives such as legislation, or pro-
tected by State power. The BLF emphasise the role of the troopers and police
'to attack union picket lines, protect scab labour and defend the property of
the mine owners and squatters'. They refer to the police shootings of strikers,
eg. at Rothbury mine in 1929, and say that it was the weakness and inexperience
of the strike leaders in 1891 which caused the collapse of preparations for armed
struggle, seen as the only means of circumventing the legal superiority of the
forces supporting the status quo.

In other words, it's either the entrenched power of the rich in 'the law' or
naked force which are the deciding factors, even for radicals. This is despite
a lot of talk about working class consciousness, hegemony of the ruling class
culture, and media distortion and trivialisation of radical ideas and intentions.
When it comes down to basics, what's important to radical change are 'the law'
or the guns and prisons of the status quo or the guns of 'the people' who could
be free and want to be free but are prevented from being free. There is in all
of this the nineteenth century but persistent romantic image of the proud wor-
ker in chains, bloody but unbowed.

Suggesting that 'the people' have been conditioned into submission, rather
than intimidated is not a new idea but because of the implication that they

might be even partly to blame for their own position, analysis of this submissive attitude has not got very far. I don't wish to blame 'the people' but I do want to understand this submissive attitude.

Accounts of the 1890s' strikes are inadequate, despite great numbers of books and articles because, as I've argued, the struggle has been seen in very simple terms and in particular, the overwhelming forces of the status quo have been simply taken for granted, not analysed. It might surprise some of you to know that there is almost no explanation of violence in the whole of Australian (white) history. There are a lot of references to it, but no understanding. Similarly in recent newspapers, there are a lot of references to spies, and to surveillance, but this arm of the status quo is not understood. Again, I want to argue, even the so-called radicals have got it wrong. For CAPP or anyone else to argue for the abolition of secret police is to miss the point, and for CP or ALP worthies to ask 'how dare ASIO tap my phone — aren't I an Australian citizen?' is just silly. And as strategy I suggest that these sorts of methods only play into the hands of the status quo because they appear to give credibility to secret government, it's just that in this case, the spooks made a mistake.

I want to argue that spies are not a civil liberties issue by looking at the question of violence and argue that the problem for today's radicals can be seen to have begun with the clash between Marx and Bakunin in the 1860s and 1870s. To do this I'll begin by looking at the evolution of spies in the nineteenth century.

In general, historians of spies in Australia, including the most recent, have accepted the nonsense that domestic surveillance beginning about 1917 grew out of something called 'military' intelligence which was entirely to do with external threats and only began about 1907.

A more realistic appraisal would begin by demystifying 'spying' and pointing out that we all 'spy' — ie. we all collect information and we all do it without telling the people about whom we do it. Secondly, *any* information can strengthen our hand and weaken that of our opposition if the circumstances are suitable. Equally crucial information collected by spies in a host country could be about crops and climate, as about missiles or defence preparations. It's largely irrelevant whether Ivanov was KGB, as it is that the Australian government knew he was before he came to Australia. What is important about 'spying' is who decides what information is to be collected, and who decides what use is made of it — in other words, who already has what power to utilise the power represented by specific information.

Secrecy is not a function of information collection. Information collected that way is only done so because of a power relationship already in place, but the mystique of secrecy has led people astray. Information collected openly by Governments is done by bureaucrats and we have an array of inspectors and survey takers and researchers going around the country finding out all sorts of things. That information is fed back to central organisation and is used to define the lives of the citizenry, by being encapsulated in legislation, some in prohibition, some in subsidies, some in simple image making as politicians ride issues.

Now, if we look at the early nineteenth century, and my chronology here is drawn from Great Britain, we find that there is no bureaucracy as we know it to speak of, and no central planning. There were spies, but during the first 40 years of the nineteenth century a number of things happened. The British Statistical Society was established, the military were replaced as the keepers of public order by a police force, information as a basis of social welfare policy came to be seen as important, and treason was defined to include utterances, not just actions. Political meetings and speeches there, even conversations in pubs, became objects of police attention, but even though police uniforms were deliberately dull, they were still conspicuous. Thus, despite great public unease, plain clothes men were instituted from the 1840s to be the government's invisible collectors of information, ie. spies. Remember, also, the uniformed 'police' on the beat could go many places and see many things the military could not. And as their official duties they compiled returns too on what they saw. They, like the plain clothes men, were the inspectors and researchers of their time, watching and recording prostitutes, unemployed, drunks, travellers, foreigners, single people living together, agitators, runaway children, runaway wives, runaway husbands, people with too much money, and people with too little money. In other words, they looked for, and took information about anything out of the ordinary. But what was the ordinary, or 'the normal' at that time, was being defined by the police in line with the new mercantile and industrial consciousness. The values considered 'normal' and therefore to be enshrined are not just white, anglo-saxon and British, but also respectable – that is thrift, caution, accepting of one's place in the overall scheme of things, and materialism, with all that that implies about keeping a job and buying a home.

Now knowing and accepting one's place and not knowing or not accepting one's place is the key difference between centralised societies and decentralised societies. Also it is the key to understanding the difference between the Marxist notion of the inevitability of history wherein members of the working class lose individuality and independence in the industrialisation process so that the revolution will happen after 'modernity' has been achieved, *and* the anarchist notion that the way for people to be creative and autonomous after the revolution is by trying to be creative and autonomous now, which means feeling that they control their own lives and make history themselves. It is entirely the choice between hierarchies and non-hierarchical society.

In passing I note the tumult in Marxist debating circles over this very question, and in particular an interview with Castoriadis in the latest *Thesis II* (no. 8) where he says that Marx created great difficulties for himself and his followers by having a bit each way. I leave it there for a moment, just noting that 'Marxism' is holy writ in the most centralised of all societies and that Castoriadis' analyses have been adopted, if at all, by the least centralised socialists.

Along the same lines I note that Marx chose to *write* revolution whereas Bakunin chose to act it. Marx argued for social democratic political parties,

while anarchists argued for direct action.

In Britain the argument between the centralisers and the decentralisers was never really a contest. By the 1870s the mass of the population had been taught by an army of social missionaries to police themselves and had become thrifty, jingoistic, work-conscious wage slaves who fought policy only to be allowed to speak in public places where they demanded the State look after them.

In Australia, as in the US, another frontier society, the struggle was not so clear cut and lasted until the 1890s when the decisive battles were fought and lost by the decentralisers. Decision making power on a grand scale became the property of the mercantile and industrial group who reorganised 'the Government' to assist their activities, that is, as a 'public service'. Such a society was 'fit for heroes' and 'the best of all possible worlds' and social control had become a matter of ideas.

The unrest at the end of the nineteenth century in which anarchists were so prominent was the crucial test, but realistically the result had already been decided by many years of social attrition. Spies, the secret police, were being centralised like everyone else, and in the twentieth century were turned into specialists with their own departments, administrators and budgets.

To bring my themes together, however, and to further explain them I want to talk now about a particular series of events in eastern Australia during these crucial last two decades of the nineteenth century. They describe and decide the history of the first anarchist movement in this country.

Established on 1 May 1886, just three days before what became known as the Haymarket Explosion in Chicago, the Melbourne Anarchist Club was the subject of sensationalised and distorted reporting almost immediately. 'The Age' reported the Club's second meeting accurately but 'The Herald' said that members were going to order in a mass of red caps, hoist a black flag and go on a rampage. The fact that the Club was a model of decorum, with Secretary, Constitution, and speakers delivering papers, was quite beside the point. What was important was that the members of the Club espoused a very radical, anti-authority line and had immediately to be attacked. Anarchists, of course, make themselves an easy target by espousing direct action, up to and including dynamite. But research shows that lots of people did that – editors wanted .tramps poisoned, strikers were to be cut down with sword and musket, families of political opponents were to be raped, burnt and driven out. This sort of language was quite common *until* it seemed that the symbols of the new order, monarchs, presidents and whole troops of police could be taken out by a single assassin. Newspaper editors then changed the anarchists defensive and liberating violence into a love of murder in the abstract and by repeatedly defining the community as peace loving, happy and respectable, made any talk of strong protest, let alone any protest itself, the mark of mentally ill, dirty and pathologically discontented scum. After the Haymarket explosion for which anarchists were arrested, hysteria was whipped up by the following sorts of descriptions of them:

long-haired, wild-eyed, bad-smelling, atheistic, reckless foreign
wretches, who never did an honest hour's work in their lives, but
who, driven half-crazy with years of oppression [before coming
to the US] and mad with envy of the rich . . .

One Melbourne agitator, Sam Rosa, was characterised as:

a piratical-looking cuss, with a big Punch-looking nose, and red-
hanging mustachios, matching his shock of red-hair, always grinding
his teeth like boar tusks.

The campaign of vilification intensified around May Days in the early 1890s,
peaking in 1892 and staying at a high level of intensity until well into 1894.

An editorial on May Day 1984 telling of the march on Washington by Coxey's
Army, tramps and beggars protesting poverty referred to 'the vile and contemp-
tible and almost incomprehensible [notion] called Coxeysim [that] asserts . . .
that property is a crime'. Note that an idea is being called names.

A London report of 1894 May Day crowds included this:

Amongst them came the tousle-haired, claw-handed creatures
with their red flags and foreign tongues and on and about them
the unmistakeable odour of murder, of foul blood.

There are many other examples. It's true that not only anarchists were being
stigmatised. The newly-formed 'ALP' was described in 1891 just before its first
election as:

This gang of sweat-rag politicians, this aggregation of anarchists,
hooligans and revolutionaries who have neither followers, funds
or even loyalty.

The point is not that anarchists were being given a bad name. What is im-
portant is that respectability is being defined, and anyone opposing this notion
will be attacked. Once a spurious idea of anarchism was in place in the public
.mind, then the label could be used to denigrate other reformers. Even today
Australian historians refuse to write about the strong decentralist element within
the early labour movement for fear of being associated with the alleged craziness
of anarchists. Similarly, advocates of any form of decentralisation can easily be
labelled crack-pots.

To go back to the original documents is to see how widespread the decentra-
lised strand was, but how quickly it was lost to sight. It's also to see how fier-
cely the status quo defended itself, not with guns, although these were available
and were displayed, and not through 'the law' although this was used, but
through the control of information. Newsagents were harassed and jailed for
handling a news-sheet which claimed to show connections between failed banks
and political, church and landed gentry; one small paragraph which somehow
found its way into the text of another radical sheet and which impugned the
morals of an MP was used to close it down and jail five men associated with it.
Virtually every day for months anarchist plots were being 'discovered' by
police, anarchists 'were said' to be doing this and 'believed to be' doing some-
thing else. Local anarchists were said to be in close contact with Ravachol

and others in France and whispered to be about to produce some diabolical plot. From this distance the language and imagery is funny, but it has had a profound effect.

The role of the secret police in all this was to legitimise the use of oppression, up to and including physical violence against dissidents by supplying material, cooked up when none exists, to newspapers and magazines, which then burden the whole of the progressive movement with a mythical guilt by association. All of this together permits the perpetrators of the much more substantial harassment, intimidation and terror, the State, to get on with it.

My argument is that this same kind of confidence trick is being used today and that this question of respectability is a more powerful weapon than courts, police and troopers. (Current examples -- Japan, the Omori Case and others, and 'terrorism', and continued reluctance of public figures to even discuss political violence, let alone support people accused of it.)

How to combat this situation? Well, secrecy is only a useful weapon when it's commonly believed that people have something to hide, something that if brought out can be used to damage them. Look how many spies have been 'entrapped' or exposed through sex 'scandals'. Look at the maleness of the 'good' spies and the kinkiness of the bad spies. If homosexuality and all the other possible variations of life-style were accepted, how could anyone be blackmailed into spying? And if having secrets was considered not nice, especially secret ways to kill, who would want to spy? If war and soldiering were not respectable, how could anyone be got to fight? Obviously abolishing the secret police will achieve nothing. The answer would seem to have a lot to do with male responses. 'Maleness' was another characteristic enshrined in white nineteenth century culture. The direct relationship between maleness and violence is said to be clear, but it's not as clear as some feminists would argue. The violence, as is the need for closed mechanical approaches to problem solving, stems from fear and paradoxically male involvement in war stems from the pretension that they are not afraid if they are men. Since men are afraid to admit they are afraid, we have a difficult vicious circle, resolvable only when men themselves break out because they are angry and frustrated at the failure to produce happiness of the tools they've been told to use.

I want to finish on this point. I believe that 'class analysis' with its emphasis on economics and central planning is also part of the confidence trick, and if radicals are to salvage anything out of the present malaise, they must firstly look again at the anarchist arguments to extract the best of what is there about personal change, and secondly, replace class analysis with a power analysis. This can cope with all the locations of power imbalance – gender, age, race, colour, as well as wealth, and cultural hegemony. This would mean that 'the revolution' or 'liberation' would be about altering the present power imbalances towards equality, which necessarily implies personal empowerment. Not competing for more power than others and thus having power over them, but struggling for power over one's life, in a physical sense and in a psychical sense. With the anarchist notion of non-hierarchical and decentralised power

there has to be incorporated the feminist notion that violence, secrecy, closed personalities and rigid control result from fear of intimacy, which is about fear of the unknown. The self-management that incorporates open sexuality, emotions and personal relationships goes far beyond the kind of self-management advocated by the CP or in the Yugoslavian model. These are still bureaucratic and centralised. People unable to admit the correctness of a lot of what anarchists have been saying for over a hundred years will, however, find it very difficult to see this.
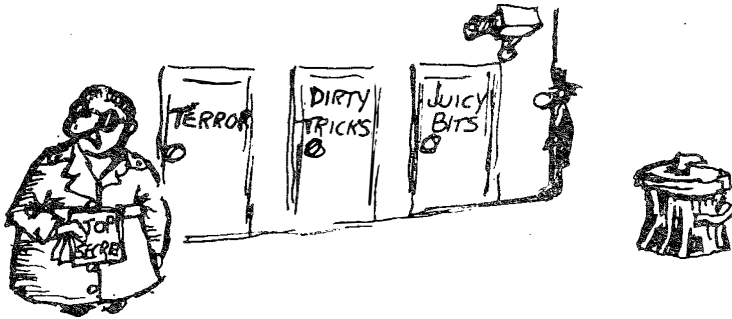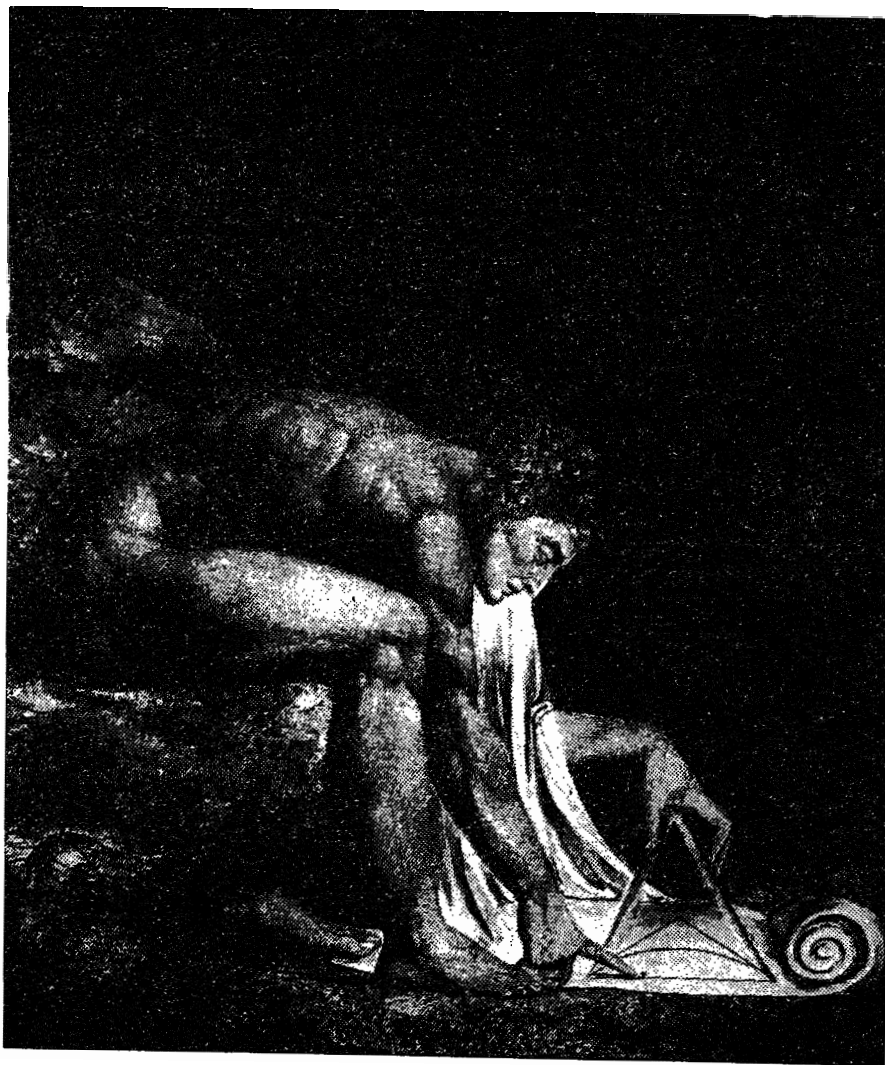
THE DANGERS OF TECHNOSPEAK
1984, Brave New World and Images of Repression

Richard Badham

Many contemporary technologies possess the potential to enhance the authoritarian control of the population. This danger is inherent within nuclear energy, nuclear weaponry, surveillance technologies, new riot control techniques, genetic engineering, and new communications technologies (satellites, cable, video, etc.).[1] Yet, often, the way in which the radical left has approached these technologies has failed to come to terms with their overall social implications and political potential. I shall argue that this is largely because radical thought has remained dominated by the language of 'technospeak', a language which conceives of the relationship between technology and control in terms of over-simplified images of 'hard' and 'soft' repression. This legacy exemplified in the writings of Orwell (*1984*) and Huxley (*Brave New World*) has prevented a truly radical and creative approach to contemporary technologies.

Writers and activists across the political spectrum have still not finally divorced themselves from the hoary myth that it is TECHNOLOGY that is the danger. An image of an Industrial Leviathan marching its way through history, trampling all human freedom and creativity, has dominated much of the thinking about modern technologies.[2] This view encourages political pessimism, diverts attention away from the institutions and interests in society which determine our fate, and fails to recognise how technologies may have radical implications or uses. The commitment to this view may result from an understandable attempt by radicals to provide a 'realistic' debunking of technocratic ideologies (which obscure the dangers of contemporary technologies by stressing the necessarily 'progressive' and 'democratic' implications that they have.[3] Yet by portraying all new technologies as as inherently dehumanising and authoritarian set of techniques this approach merely substitutes one technological mythology for another. The effect is the same if technology is seen as an autonomous 'great growling engine of change' or the direct creation/tool of an omnipotent power elite.

At this point I want to stress that I am not saying *all* radical theories adopt this crude view of technology.[4] Nor do I wish to claim that those writers whose work generally adopts this view are totally entrapped by this perspective or that they have nothing important to say about modern technology.[5] What I do wish to emphasise, however, is that the inadequacies and dangerous limitations of this image have not been sufficiently widely recognised. Many writers have, therefore, tended to fall back into this perspective as, without a clearly defined alternative approach, the powerful traditional 'technophobic' images reassert themselves. The idea that 'technology is doing us in' (as one speaker in this conference remarked) is a technocratic theology that has outlived its time. Nietzsche accurately proclaimed that 'God is Dead' not when religion had lost its moral appeal but, rather, when religion was no longer seen as having a mono-

poly on truth.[6] Similarly, in the case of views of technology. Technocratic theology is not destroyed by revealing the negative potential of technologies but, rather, by showing that it does not explain how technologies are created, taken up and used in society. It is finally time to put to rest the deification of Technology as the supreme author of mankind's historical script. This requires a clear alternative radical approach to technological change.

A. The Limitations of Technospeak

Following Orwell's characterisation of 'Newspeak', technospeak possesses three main features: firstly, the presence of 'doublethink' (the ability to hold onto two contradictory beliefs at one and the same time without recognising the conflict); secondly, a creeping nonspeak (the restriction in the number of words and range of meaning in the vocabulary, in a way that discourages any thought about an alternative society); thirdly, the existence of 'duckspeak' (the creation of words whose function is merely to evoke an unthinking outburst of approval or distaste).[7]

All three characteristics are prevalent in the images of hard and soft repression expressed most graphically in Orwell's *1984* and Huxley's *Brave New World*.[8] Severe images of hard repression are clearly embodied in Orwell's speculations on future psychological torture, brainwashing techniques and the surveillance technology of the telescreen acting on behalf of Big Brother. Orwell's *1984* is based on the rigid control by the Party of an authoritarian war-based technological civilisation. Sexual repression was a necessary feature of a society organised for total control by the party, and one which needed the hysteria essential for leader worship and war mongering.[9] Warfare was required in order to use up the products of 'the machine' without bringing into question hierarchy and inequality.[10] The image is one of total harsh control with the use of crude and brutal technologies, a form of control exemplified in the torture and final submission of Winston Smith.

In sharp contrast, Huxley presents a gentler image of soft repression involving genetic engineering and psychological conditioning. 'The machine' required stable skilled workers and avid consumers to keep up production.[11] Consequently: genetic breeding was in operation to ensure the right number of workers with the appropriate skills; indoctrination into consumer habits and respect for the existing order occurred while the workers were asleep in 'Elementary Class Consciousness' sessions; the drug soma was used as a chemical aid to satisfy the population; ('Christianity without tears'); and full instinctual liberation, exemplified in free sex and the 'feelies', was encouraged.[12]

These images have lent themselves to an easy form of 'duckspeak'. New forms of technological development or economic affluence are simply condemned as the latest stage of soft or hard repression. Any increase in leisure, affluence and comfort in the 'new industrial state' is identified as the signs of a 'smooth democratic unfreedom'.[13] The strivings and satisfaction of the 'lonely crowd' are characterised as the soulless diversions of an apathetic and manipulated civilisation.[14] Technological and material advance in this area is immediately condemned as the most recent phase in the technocratic incorpo-

ration of the population. In direct contrast, the hidden underworld of the affluent society is portrayed in terms of the brutal poverty and harsh repression of Harrington's 'other America', Becker's 'outsiders', and all those suffering from the authoritarian practices of the welfare state and the security forces (the unemployed, homeless, youth, migrants, patients, the old, etc.).[15] The significance of any technological developments affecting these sectors of the population is simply regarded as a further extension of surveillance and brutal control by dominant elites within hierarchical organisations. There is, therefore, a clear danger that the aim of any study of these areas becomes simply the 'uncovering' of hidden repression in order to evoke an 'aint it awful' response from the committed. New technologies are uncritically accepted as merely the latest nail in mankind's technological coffin.†

The second problem of technospeak is the existence of 'doublethink'. This is most clearly apparent in the stress upon the determinant role of technology, or the technocratic elite/culture which lies behind its development, while, at the same time, recognising in the abstract some limits to technological determinism, the role of human action, or the impact of social structures on the development and use of technology. It is significant that both Orwell and Huxley only present rebellion in terms of an individual reaction against an all-pervasive totalitarian control. As they give a view of overwhelming technological manipulation and control, they are unable to provide any analysis of the

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† One major development during the last fifteen years has been the combination of these images. Most immediately there has been a great degree of speculation on the effects of the 'dual labour market' (the division between tightly controlled, alienating, low paid, 'low trust' work and independent, internally motivated, skilful, highly paid, 'high trust' work) and the potential of automation to create a world of complacent and leisured affluence or brutal and degrading poverty amongst a large minority, or even majority, of unemployed.[16] Yet the forcefulness of a number of critiques of modern technology comes from a new conflation of the hard and soft images as the hard repression of the 'outsiders' impinges upon the previously soft repression of those 'inside' the system. Thus, we have widespread debate on the disastrous ecological effects of pollution, the potentially traumatic consequences of the decline of natural resources, the widespread rationalised de-skilling of all sectors of the workforce, and the implications of these developments for the *whole* of society.[17] In addition, the recent upsurge of protest over the dangers of nuclear war may derive much of its impact from the dramatic portrayals of a cataclysmic nuclear catastrophe which clearly shows the 'hard' character of modern technology and its potentially brutal impact on the previously complacent affluent world.[18] With the rise of the anti-nuclear movement, the middle class critique of capitalism no longer relies upon a rather intellectualistic reactions against false needs' and the superficiality of consumerism − it brings the bare facts of survival and horrifying injury back into the suburbs.

nature or potential for change. As in Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man*, there is no understanding of conflicts within the dominant institutions and elites, no examination of the different class, political and cultural experiences which can foster collective opposition and resistance. and, consequently, no analysis of the dynamic tension between classes rooted in the established structures.[19] Opposition becomes seen in terms of an 'abstract negation' of the existing order. a hope for change built upon an insubstantial faith in ultimate human freedom — a political stance with about the same plausibility as the woman who stated, 'I guess I accept the universe'. There can be no simultaneous acceptance of technology's successful repression of the population and the possibility of change — without resorting to a crude doublethink.[20]

The limitations of this political analysis are grounded in the individualistic romantic reaction against mass society, the tendency within some forms of anarchism to portray the major conflict within society to be between the 'individual' and the 'state', and the existentialist portrayal of the perpetual struggle between the authentic individual and an inauthentic society in the shape of 'the other'.[21] It results, however, in a third form of technospeak: the phenomenon of increasing *nonspeak*. It becomes increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to conceive of a valid alternative society or a means for bringing such a society into being. No allowance is made for the possibility that the technologies presently being developed may have effects or uses other than the reproduction of the existing order. In addition, one of the central dilemmas facing modern thought is not addressed: the apparent contradictory ideals of a centralised democratic structure co-ordinating the population in an organised democratic manner *and* a vision of local autonomy, self government and small scale democracy in different communities. The dangers of a centralised system are authoritarian control, massification, deskilling and alienation within a large scale technological and bureaucratic structure. The potential advantages are those of increased free time, affluence and rational co-ordination. The dangers of the localised system, however, are the forms of intimate oppression, community inequality, lack of co-ordination, and potentially open conflict. On the other hand there are the possible benefits of satisfying craft work, a sense of autonomy and independence, intimate and satisfying multi-faceted human relationships, and the understanding and control of a 'human scale' work and community structure. Can modern technologies be shaped and used to achieve a number of these ideals and minimise the potential disadvantages? Does any such organisation require the formation of an international community or can one nation, or group of nations, 'go it alone'? Such issues are not seriously addressed, or related to existing historial circumstances, by those whose thought is totally limited by the images of hard and soft repression. The imagery of technospeak allows no room for speculation on the selective uses of technologies to create a more desirable political order.

B. The Politics of Technochoice

The accumulation of instances where contemporary technologies are used by corporations or the state to control and manipulate the population does

NOT, and necessarily CANNOT, in itself provide a radical approach to technological change. Radicalism is not simply a 'class Machiavellianism' which unearths conspiratorial power elite motives behind all forms of 'democracy', 'welfare' and 'progress'. It must be based on a systematic study of the way in which the form and use of modern technologies either reproduces or undermines the existing social order.

The first criterion, therefore, is an understanding of the fundamental nature of modern society and the way in which it has succeeded in reproducing itself in the past. This must be accompanied by an awareness of the conflicts, dilemmas, incompatibilities, and contradictions that the existing order has been able to prevent from culminating in a radical social change (again I stress) *in the past*.

The second criterion is that an attempt must be made to examine the potential of modern technologies for (a) enhancing these conflicts and contradicitons, and (b) providing a tool for political groups or social classes with the greatest interest in radical change.

The third criterion is a clear idea of what would constitute a radical social transformation. Without such an idea it is impossible to even examine the forces for order and change for these can only be defined in relationship to some conception of an alternative society. Would a post-capitalist society, for example, be defined in terms of the abolition of the profit motive or the absence of money, the abolition of the state or the state control of the economy, the end of wage labour or the end of compulsory work, the abolition of scarcity or a public form of rationing, the creation of a national alternative to capitalism or a new international order etc.? Such questions require answers before it is possible to assess the potential, or lack of potential, for radical change inherent within any new technologies.

Within this perspective it is essential to recognise both the conflictual structure of social relationships which determine the *form* and *use* of contemporary technology and the 'selective industrialism' required in order to create a more desirable alternative order. The notion of technochoice is central to both these areas. The issue is not merely one of discovering who is controlling technology and how to control technology for society's benefit. It is also to unearth how the structure and form of modern technologies is *chosen* and the principles upon which the *design* and *selection* of new technologies should be carried out. As Albury and Schwartz have remarked, 'At every stage a series of choices is made about what is going to be worked on and the quantity of resources to be allocated to each task.'[22]

A radical approach to technological change must break with the political homogenisation of simple elite/mass theories of power and the crude technological homogenisation that limits discussion to such absolutes as 'progress', 'mechanism', 'dehumanisation', 'control of nature', 'efficiency', 'end of scarcity', and the 'dominance of technique' (rather than the contribution of different technologies to forms of progress, forms of dehumanisation, types of control over nature, types of scarcity etc. – which constitute the real foundations for a new *politically defined* social order).

Within radical circles there may appear to be a cynical 'realism' in recognising the authoritarian potential of modern technology. This is clearly manifest in some of the more popular 'aint it awful' writings on the dominant role of multinationals or the activities of the secret service or 'defense' forces.[23] Whether the area is computers, biotechnology, nuclear power, armaments or drugs — the role of a restricted number of vast multinationals is often clearly apparent in the development and implementation of technology. Similarly, in writings on 'security', there are now a whole variety of techniques — from video taping demonstrations through phone tapping to epilepsy inducing flashing lights — used by the security forces.[24] But if the discovery of such facts is not to become an argument for disillusion, withdrawal or isolated and ineffective acts of frustration and aggression, then the domination of our thought by the categories of technospeak must be brought to an end; and replaced by a truly radical assessment of the present control and future potential of technology.

C. Technology and the Logic of Public Participation

One of the major areas of interest for any radical approach to technology is the increasing number of moves that have been made for increasing 'public participation' in technological change.[25] Some writers on the left have merely dismissed movements within this area as 'tokenism' or 'middle class'. Yet, others have seen them as signs of a participatory movement that carries the seeds of a radically new social order.[26] Whatever the attitude, however, the movements for participation cannot be simply dismissed as politically irrelevant. They exist and represent a form of political action that may transcend the crude dichotomies of parliamentary reform or revolutionary militancy and political mobilisation outside the state or political lobbying within the state. To reject their validity through the perpetration of the traditional categories of technospeak and the vague all-embracing imagery of 'hard' and 'soft' repression, is not only to ignore whatever potential they have for social change but also to actively undermine that potential.

In particular, it is important to recognise the challenge that they provide to the traditional legitimacy of the capitalist state. Based on a new recognition of the widespread influence of technology and its non 'technical' character, they have extended the appeal for direct democratic control into the heart of the bureaucratic-scientific-technological complex of the state. This has become apparent in movements as diverse as the protests against: the increasing stockpiles of nuclear weapons; the highly technological and centralised nuclear power industry; the unemployment threat posed by the introduction of automated work processes; the threat to privacy and potential for social control deriving from new surveillance and computerised information technologies; the extension of the American based multinational communication system through new satellite, cable and video technologies; and the implication of genetic engineering and in vitro fertilisation for multinational agribusiness and the selection and control of human birth processes.[27]

All these movements have brought into question the authority of private enterprise and the state to make decisions on behalf of the population and

legitimate this as a 'technical' enterprise. Even government departments and statutory bodies are now expressly committed to enhanced public 'consultation' and 'participation'. Whatever the limitations of these forms of participation, and they are considerable, the ideology of direct participation appears to have taken root. The argument is no. longer whether participation is desirable but, rather, how effective particular mechanisms of participation can be.

One writer has emphasised the importance of movements for increased public participation due to: increased unemployment; extension of industrial democracy; environmental concern; and the activities of the state in dealing with unmet social needs (education, health, welfare, housing, etc.)[28] The recent re-emergence of the peace movement can clearly be added to this list. These are not, however, merely isolated movements. There are definite overlaps of interest and concern. There are indications, for example, of links between ecology and trade union movements (Building Labourers Federation and Green Bans, refusal by Australian trade unions to ship uranium); connections between community movements and worker protest at industrial decline (Upper Clyde, U.K.); and a common interest shown by environmental and peace movements in the mining of uranium.[29]

.The final direction of such movements is far from clear. They may become incorporated within the existing decision making and power structures of private corporations and the state OR they may come to challenge these power structures themselves. There is a clear logic of the 'public participation' movements that finally challenges the structural logic of private property and liberal democracy — if driven to their ultimate conclusion. In the economic sphere, for example, technology is presently developed by corporations as part of the search for maximum profits through sustained long term growth. Yet the movements for industrial democracy, consumer welfare, and environmental concern are challenging that criteria. As Ken Coates remarks, 'Where work is made an objective — even *the* objective of economic activity, both how the work is done as well as what is done, may become central criteria for resource allocation.'[30] and 'Once the economic strategy of worker integrated corporate planning begins to gain momentum it will compel consideration of a number of fundamental issues about the relationships between advanced science-based technology and democracy'.[31] Similar comments have been made concerning the extension of the principles of the consumer movement,[32] 'democratic planning and control in industry needs to be complemented by democratic control over the social uses to which products are put'.[33] Yet this comes into conflict with the principle of private property upon which the business corporation is founded.

In the political sphere a similar argument prevails. At present the call for public participation in the activities of government departments and statutory corporations has accepted the ultimate accountability of these bodies to the minister, hence to parliament and then, ultimately, to the people. Yet the logic of direct democracy finally challenges this avenue of accountability and replaces it by some form of direct democracy by those immediately affected

by the specific activities of the state (whether this involves a total alternative to liberal democracy or another sphere of democratic regulation and control).

Whether or not the political and economic logic of the public participation movements will come to challenge the legitimacy of private corporations and the state is a major contemporary issue. Yet in order for the movements to unite behind a common platform the ideologies of these groups must 'become a compulsion instead of a reproach'[34] and be based on a renewed 'self-reliance and popular self confidence'[35] For this, as Mike Cooley points out,

> 'it is not pills and tranquillisers we need but a very clear political and ideological view of what we want technology to do for us and the courage and determination to fight for its implementation.'[36]

A variety of different attempts have been made to provide a general 'alternative' ideology to inspire such unity. Murray Bookchin for example, argues for the importance of a new ecological attitude to nature and society based on subordinating ourselves to the subjectivity and purposive order inherent within nature.[37] Yet the generality of such evocations makes than an unlikely effective ideology. The German Marxism of the Frankfurt School is equally vague in its appeal for a new form of non-instrumental 'practical' reason to guide society.[38] Habermas and Offe have continued and extended this tradition in their portrayal of the legitimation crisis facing late capitalist states. As they argue, the extension of the affairs of the state further into the 'private' lives of individual citizens undermines all claims to neutrality and, hence, destroys the ideological cover of a capitalist state based on maintaining inequalities of wealth and a profitable private economy while simulataneously presenting itself as egalitarian and democratic.[39] Yet what will concretely unite the various 'democratic' movements and what kind of social order could be created as an alternative is only vaguely dealt with by such writers.[40] The movement for public participation still awaits its ideologue — if one is to emerge.

D. Conclusion

At the least such movements for extending public participation and the control of technology raises serious legitimation and guidance questions for the modern state. At the most they represent a fundamental challenge to the political and economic logic of present private and public institutions. What final form they will take cannot be foreseen. One thing is certain, however, which is that if the outdated categories of technospeak and hard/soft repression are allowed to dominate our understanding of such movements, no ideological development will be possible to unite and guide such movements in the direction of progressive social change. For this reason, if not for any other, any continued adherence to technological 'oldspeak' represents a significant failure of Western radicalism — a failure of imagination, thought and, finally, action. The images of *1984* should not be allowed to guide us into '1985'

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2. See R. Badham, Sociology of Industrial and Post-Industrial Societies, *Current Sociology*, 32, 1, Spring 1984.

3. The technocratic view is best represented in the work of Alvin Toffler. See, especially, A. Toffler, *Futureshock* (Pan, London 1975) and A. Toffler, *The Third Wave,* (Pan, London 1981).

4. See, for example, H. M. Enzensberger, *The Consciousness Industry,* (Seabury Press, N.Y., 1974) and H. Enzensberger, 'A Critique of Political Ecology', in H. Rose and S. Rose (eds.), *The Political Economy of Science,* (Macmillan, London, 1976).

5. See L. Winner, 'On Criticising Technology', *Public Policy*, Winter 1972, 35-61.

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7. G. Orwell, *1984*, (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1983). See, also D. McCormick, *Approaching 1984* (David and Charles, London 1980), P. Chilton (ed.), *1984 in 1984*, and R. Williams, *Orwell*, (Fontana, Glasgow, 1984).

8. A. Huxley, *Brave New World*, (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1973) and A. Huxley, *Brave New World Revisited*, (Triad/Panther, London, 1958). The hard/soft distinction is different to that employed in A. Lovins, *Soft Energy Paths*, (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1977). The technologies described by Orwell and Huxley are all complex, large scale, expertly dominated and centralised. Their hardness or softness, in the sense used here, refers to the extent to which they involve direct physical brutality, instinctual repression, and crude mechanical techniques of surveillance and indoctrination.

9. Orwell, *ibid*., p. 118.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-7,227,230,232.

11. Huxley, *Brave New World,* p. 44.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 11,42, 46, 47, 49, 173,185.

13. H. Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*, (Abacus, London 1974). The image of the new industrial state was most clearly represented in J. K. Galbraith, *The New Industrial State* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1974).

14. These general themes can be found in D. Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd,* (Doubleday/Anchor, New York, 1953); C. Wright-Mills, *The Power Elite,* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1956); K. Jaspers, *The Origin*

and Goal of History (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1972). In the list of following writings it is not suggested that all the writers adopt the simple image of soft/hard repression, merely that they are pointing to social developments that lend themselves to such an interpretation.

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17. For a summary of these forms of thought see K. Kumar, *Prophecy and Progress: The Sociology of Industrial and Post-Industrial Society*, (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1978).

18. J. Falk, *Global Fission, op. cit.*, J. Camilleri, *The State and Nuclear Power, op. cit.*

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21. R. Badham *ibid.*, R. Purnell, *Anarchism*, (unpublished paper), R. Bernstein, *Praxis and Action*, (Duckworth, London, 1972).

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23. See, for example, I. Crough and E. Wheelwright, *Australia: The Client State* (Penguin, 1983) and P. Lashmar, 'Information as Power', in P. Chilton (ed.), *1984 in 1984.*

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25. See, for example, D. Nelkin (ed.), *Controversies,* (Sage, Beverley Hills, 1979), D. Nelkin, *Technological Decisions and Democracy* (Sage, Beverley Hills, 1977), M. Cooley, *Architect or Bee?* (Transnational Co-operative, Sydney, 1980).

26. K. Coates (ed.), *The Right to Useful Work*, (Spokesman, London, 1978), R. Badham, 'The Concept of Technochoice', ANZAAS, Canberra, May, 1984.

27. For a summary of some of these issues, see C. Boyle, P. Wheale and Brian Sturgess, *People, Science and Technology,* (Harvester, London, 1984).

28. K. Coates (ed.), *ibid.*, 'Introduction'.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
32. C. Offe, 'Alternative Strategies in Consumer Policy', in C. Offe, *Contradictions of the Welfare State* (Hutchinson, London, 1984).
33. K. Coates, *ibid.*, p. 277.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
36. M. Cooley, in K. Coates, *ibid.*, p. 211.
37. M. Bookchin, *The Ecology of Freedom* (Cheshire Books, N.Y., 1980).
38. A. van der Berg, 'Critical Theory: Is There Still Hope?', *American Journal of Sociology*, 86, 3, 1980: 435-55.
39. J. Haberman, *Legitimation Crisis,* (Heinemann, London, 1976) and C. Offe, *op. cit.*
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PROCESSED WORLD 12

Are you being rated... "NON-USER-FRIENDLY?"

ROBINS

NETWORKS OF CONTROL

Hamish Reid

Introduction

There is little social control that does *not* seem to be connected in some way with technology, either as a direct tool, or as a more subtly-applied pressure. The opposite is just as true — there is little in the way of technology that is not ultimately being used for social control purposes, or that is not being used as a subtle backdrop for oppression. I am often confronted with technologies where *social control is actually a tool of that technology* (and vice versa). Most technologies I encounter in my work as a computer and communications technologist were developed as a result of a (sometimes explicit) attempt to gain some form of control, or to act as (often diffuse and ill-defined) relations or networks of power.

Unfortunately, the idea of technology might be intimately associated with social control and oppression is a *radical* notion to most technologists — in fact, most would find even talking about it a useless, embarrassing, or offensive act! As a working technologist, I find talk about such notions as "technological determinism", "ideologies of technology", or the "technological imperative" difficult to relate to my work. It just isn't as simple as that! Society, discourses of power, technological possibilities and limitations, ideas about technology, the social processes of innovation and oppression, all intertwine in a rather more complex and dangerous manner.

I can't subscribe to the idea that technology is somehow an autonomous ideology, social process, or neutral tool — the usual polarised view amongst activists seems to be either the neutral tool, or, much more likely, the (dangerously) autonomous process view — both poles miss the inherent power of tools to shape to some extent their uses, or the possibility of liberatory or "alternative" technologies. Like many technological activists, I have a strong ambivalence towards the uses and images of technologies around us — there *does* seem to be a choice available to us, if we recognise the dangers inherent in powerful tools such as those described in this paper, and those inherent in social and political images of technology.

Richard Badham· has pointed out the dangers of simplified and pessimistic images of technology, of the dangers of technospeak, in his talk, and I can't claim to be able to add to what he has to say; what I would rather do is talk about a technology that I come into contact with daily — the technology of computer communications networking — and the social control dimensions of this technology. What follows does not pretend to be an academic discussion of these issues — rather, it should be read as an insider's "nuts and bolts" view of some of the possible mechanics of power and social control, within the limited field of this particular technology and our particular social context.

2. A Context

Let me nail a few flags to the masthead:

* I suspect that there is a *massive* amount of ignorance surrounding "Technology and Social Control" – *especially* in the minds and actions of those people supposedly most interested in the effects of technology on society (and *vice-versa*). I suspect that my position as a lone (token?) technologist speaking at this conference confirms this.

* Most technologists distrust and just do not understand the language of sociology and political activism, and therefore much of what activists say lacks any credibility in the eyes of practicing technologists. The field technologists inhabit is *still* devoid of fertile ideas on the interaction of technology and society, *expressed in the sort of language technologists such as myself can understand.*

* It has struck me many times during the last few years that *Technology often seems to be about control* – both as a tool and as an end, often obsessively so. The extent to which this control is *social control* is debatable, but for now, let me observe that much of the technology I am concerned with involves using *social control concepts as a tool of technology*. The concepts of control and (what we call) technology seem to mingle naturally. This seems ominous, as do the sometimes amusing anthropomorphisms (and *economorphisms*?) that crop up continually in my work – machines described as masters or slaves, listeners or talkers; we use protocols, manager processes monitor the performance of server processes . . . etc.

* Technology as such probably doesn't quite exist – there are technolog*ies* (eg. Corporate technologies, Alternative technologies, Centralising technologies), whose internal truths, aims, methods and relations reflect and support the wider social contexts – *"Technology is Social Relations"* (Bob Young, in [1]). To this extent, technologies are hardly neutral, and are usually only as liberating or oppressive as the social systems they inhabit. It is probably inappropriate to talk about "making technology work for liberation", or "changing technology from within", or even "technology and social control", without also talking about the character of the social relations surrounding the technology, and the possibility of liberation or control with and through this wider social context.

3. Points of Control

I claim there are at least seven obvious points of social control *already* inherent in our society's use of computing communications networking. They are, in no particular order:

* Network surveillance – the tapping of network "traffic", the monitoring of network usage;

* Surveillance and monitoring through the *use* of data gathered, stored, and processed by networks;

* The economy of information production is just as skewed and divisive as the economy it inhabits and supports – and therefore has a similar social control role;

* Networks have the potential for the spreading of massive amounts of misinformation;

* Isolation of individuals and groups, and revised (oppressive) work practices, through enforced network use in production and consumption systems;

* General economic control and exclusion − disenfranchisement of those *not* in the new network economic order; control of those who *are*;

* (Usually Ignored) The overpowering social control exerted by the nuclear arms race is directly supported by computing network technologies.

I would now like to look at each point in more detail.

3.1 Network Surveillance

I hope some of you get the chance to read the ATEA pamplet, "The Phones Are Watching You"[2] − it bears directly on points one, two, and five above. It describes the actual threat posed on two fronts by the form of computer network equipment known as *TIMS* − Telephone Information Monitoring System. It is already with us, and has been for some years. TIMS allows detailed computer surveillance of all incoming and outgoing phone calls − not the actual *contents*, just who poned whom and when, how long they talked, and even how long it took to answer an incoming call.

Now this is an old technology − it is really only a computerised version of the telephone exchange (and therefore somewhat more conducive to being secretly manipulated or controlled).

Computer networks are a little more complex; whilst it is still possible to do a similar surveillance of network traffic − who mailed whom, etc. − it is actually a little more difficult to 'tap' the contents of network traffic − or at least it can theoretically be made so. *Encryption* of network traffic is possible, and indeed in many cases can give an almost guaranteed security from unauthorised access. These techniques are publicly available (although, typically, the US Department of Defense is now suppressing many of the research papers on cryptography originating in the USA) and are at last appearing commercially − where they have a huge potential market with companies and government departments (see [3] †).

Unfortunately, it really matters very little that you or I have the means to engage in these coded conversations with others on the net, if we do not also have unlimited and unmonitored access to that net. The act of encryption itself,

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† This (staid technical) article also contains the following gem of a quote: "A highly controversial theory on why users spurn DES [Data Encryption Standard, developed by NBS] is the theory of a "conspiracy" between the National Security Agency, and the National Bureau of Standards [NBS]. Some computer scientists, and the Geneva Management Group as well, have charged that the use of DES, which has been urged by the NSA ever since the NBS proposed it in 1973, would allow the security agency to monitor domestic data transmissions. . . . Admiral Bobby R Inman, who had headed NSA in 1979 [and is now deputy director of the CIA] . . . acknowledged that the NSA had worked with the NBS in developing the encryption standard . . ."

could, for instance, be noted and later used against you, or encryption could be outlawed on certain nets (it is not technically too difficult to detect that a message is probably encrypted).

Network traffic is still, of course, easily monitored — it is just that the complexity is greater. Virtually all the nets I use can keep statistics on message transfers. So far, I believe it when I'm told its for performance improvement purposes only — we are still at a very early stage, but its likely to soon become an institutionalised and oppressive thing. And it is so technically easy — and in this society, given the average technologists perception of what technology is, *so technically appropriate.*

3.2 Surveillance Using Nets

Computer networks provide the means for a more indirect surveillance by making the process of gathering, storing, and processing of information considerably easier and more widespread.

Most large organisations use data bases, many for implicit social control purposes — using things like credit ratings, tax records, crime records, etc — the list can be made as long as your imagination. Networking increases the avaiability and utility of databases many times over. It does this in several ways —

Firstly, computer networks can be made to *gather* data. One could, for instance, set up a network of traffic sensors to sense how many cars pass certain points on certain roads (similar to the way Sydney's traffic light control system works). In Hong Kong the British government is toying with the idea of giving each car a unique electronic signature, with a network of computer sensors monitoring which car passes what sensor and when . . . this is eminently feasible from a "technical" point of view, and, depressingly enough, has already been tried with humans. It is possible to buy on the American market a system whereby each employee (or client, or prisoner . . .) is issued with a small identification card, bracelet, or anklet, whose electronic signature is readable on thousands of points on a network within a building. One can easily track people, or just make sure they stay in their places — or not actually use it, just threaten its use.

Yet another example of computer network data gathering was one I read about last week in the office copy of *New Scientist* — the British police have been testing a new computer video unit that sits on freeway overpasses, and, under the control of a central computer, scans cars for wanted number plates. As yet, the system is riddled with technical problems, and is supposedly undergoing only very tentative trials, and the police swear that it will be used only for the detection of stolen cars . . . The point is that it is *technically feasible*, as is a great deal more data gathering that is much more subtle. Soon I believe it will be possible to hide the fact that data gathering is occurring in the above examples. This may take a decade, if we're lucky, but at that stage I suspect that you would need to be technically expert to even realise the data was being gathered.

The second method whereby database power is multiplied is by the sharing and collating of data stored in linked databases — we might want to tie in, say,

health department records with insurance company records, or student records with ASIO files — etc. This already occurs officially, on a vast scale, in many US Government departments, in what they call *Computer Matching* (see [4] for an up-to-date debate between two "experts" on the issue) — several government departments, most notably, of course, Health, Education and Welfare, sift through other departmental records and pick out common cases that *may* indicate some form of fraud or "misentitlement". As the networking world struggles towards a world-wide standard for data exchange along networks, we can only hold our breaths and thank whoever was responsible for the current difficulties coherent data sharing experiences. They won't last long!

Both of these facets of database and networking, and point one above, touch on what most of us refer to as private issues. Much is made, in the computing and communications journals, of the need for privacy and data-security.

But privacy for whom?

And security from whom?

The focus on these journals is nearly always on data security — but that's the easy issue! As I said before, we have developed ways of securing data and communications from unauthorised access — the current furore over the illegal access by "hackers" to US DoD computers, for example, is simply a case of the DoD being caught napping — it certainly need never have happened.

But, again, security *from whom*? Data security is in the eyes of the beholder. I would have a different view of the security of, say, my academic record, than, say, someone in UNSW who controlled that data. I would feel that it was insecure if it could be used by anyone other than in a very narrowly prescribed way; the UNSW bureaucrat is likely to feel that it is still secure even if it was available to other organisations without my knowledge. Data security in the technical journals tends to mean security from attack or from being unlawfully changed — it does not usually mean security from improper *authorised* usage. I would feel that data about me, for instance, is secure only if I have exclusive control over the contents and usage of that data; to the bureaucrat and many technologists, it is secure if it can't be damaged or compromised by someone *they* didn't allow to do so . . . Unfortunately, of course, the "technical" solutions are there for the "technical" definition of security — we would need a somewhat different society and technology to ensure a more socially acceptable and non-oppressive notion of data security.

3.3 The Information Economy

There isn't much more that I could say here that wouldn't be obvious to most of you — *any* economy has its imbalances in initial resources distribution, its positive and negative feedback loops, its resultant inequalities and entrenched problems. The information economy is unlikely to be different, and these internal and external logics define a form of social control as powerful as those in other economies. The information poor, as Barry Jones calles us, are just as oppressed by the information rich as in economies based on other resources and units of exchange.

3.4 Misinformation

Barry Jones's information revolution and information society could well become the misinformation revolution and society. This sounds trite, but I think a remark made earlier by Ian Langham, about television and how Orwell had got it wrong, was appropriate — just as television networks now keep us in place with misinformation and irrelevant television, there is no reason to believe the new information channels offered by computer networks won't be similarly used.

Currently, in Australia, this is not happening, but it will. As with television, the supposed neutrality and impartiality of computer networks will be used as images hiding their rather less simplistic nature. Consider the case of computer voting — would *you* trust the collection and counting of votes to a hidden and technically complex network of computers? Would *you* know how to find out whether any fraud had occurred — even if the (technical) evidence was staring you in the face? Would you trust computer news any more than television news? A surprisingly large number of people *would* . . . Would you enjoy remote teaching by network — it *does* have its advantages, see [5] — with omnipresent teachers and monitoring of scores, results, etc?

3.5 Networks & Work (Remote Control)

This point is, again, touched on in the TIMS pamplet — computer networking has radical implications for the way we work (or don't work), and for control over that work.

I mentioned earlier that I use networks quite extensively — I could actually do very nearly all my work from home using networks. I have a terminal at home, a modem that allows me to dial in to the computers at work or the University, which are themselves connected to several (Australian and international) networks. I do this a great deal (this paper was prepared on several different computers from the one terminal sitting on my desk at home), and I find it very convenient to work and research like this. Millions wouldn't . . .

Also, at work I enjoy a large degree of freedom — no one monitors me, and my workplace is particularly congenial. This *is* unusual. The network technology now exists (TIMS!) to allow increased *remote control* over the way we work — from the automated office concepts now being introduced, to the only slightly more distant spectre of work at home, isolated from unions, from human contact . . . but not from the means of control!

Most modern automated office systems are advertised with control features as their main selling points — and computer networking technologies make it a *trivial* task to monitor work efficiency and performance in these systems — "the greatest potential of office automation is not expected to be from the improvement of clerical and administrative tasks, but from the ability of managers to gain increased control over their operations . . ."[6]

I myself was involved in the partial implementation of such a monitoring system at a nameless chemical plant in Altona, Victoria. One of the management made the obvious extrapolation that if the system I'd designed and was installing could monitor and control chemical reaction vessels, solvent flow

rates, etc, then it could just as easily also monitor the human operator's response and performance as they sat at the control terminal. And of course he was right − a few hundred more lines in the program, a bit of thinking, and it would have worked, and would have been "technically" such an appropriate thing to have done. Luckily, things never got that far, but the potential is always there − and for all I know, someone else may already have altered that program to do just what the management wanted.

3.6 Economic Control

This point is *already* a problem − we are having the networked-cashless-automated-credit-electronic-funds-transfer society thrust upon us, whether we like it or not.

If you are not a part of it, you are effectively disenfranchised from its benefits. If you are part of it, then you are of course subject to the sort of social control that any such instant surveillance system can implement. The use of this sort of networked cashless credit system is *not* some distant abstract thing − it is here now, about to hit us in a big way. The use of this sort of credit system obviously increases the ability of the owners of the network that it uses to monitor *all* your various transactions with ease − it is, from the technical point of view, the almost perfect way to implement a silent, obscure and extensive way to keep track of, and control over, the use of the central power source and resource in our society.

There are, for example, plans to pay Social Security funds directly into bank accounts using EFT (Electronic Funds Transfer).† This is only the first step − I suspect that we may soon see some sort of Dolecard analagous to the automated teller "Cashcard" now in use. The social control implications of this are obvious − isolation of social security clients from their servants, from one another, etc, and a technically sound and useful way of automatically monitoring who gets what and when, etc. You have very little choice about this from the (our society's) "technical" point of view, I'm afraid, as it is already quite possible, and I think it is only caution and a certain bureaucratic inertia that has held it up so far.

3.7 Networks and War

This issue obviously deserved a conference of its own − I was very depressed that no one explicitly dealt with arms control, super-power nuclear terrorism, or the use of technology to keep us in our place with its spectres of annihilation.

If you can find it, the IEEE (Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers) *Spectrum* special issue on War and Technology[8] is well worth reading on the issue. It is very much the insider's view, the engineer's view† of war, peace, and the tools that will be used. It would be tempting to assume that the *Spectrum*

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† Electronic Funds Transfer is a very big area of commercial development at the moment, with all Australian banks struggling to make their own systems work, along with several large retail corporations; see [7] for the US Office of Technology Assessment's view of E.F.T. Privacy, security and equity problems − it doesn't paint a rosy future.

issue was full of blind technical rhetoric, but that is rather too easy — there has been a highly visible and extensive debate about the place of engineers in the nuclear arms race over the last two years in such journals as *Spectrum.*

At any rate, I can't possibly cover this topic in *any* detail without missing out a great deal of interesting work — again, I consider that the topic needs its own conference. Nevertheless, I can't resist pointing out that one of the most influential computer networks ever built, the packet-switched ARPANET, was initially an experiment in designing a "second-strike" control network for the US DoD that would survive a nuclear attack . . . ([10]) and that several successors, a typical example being GRIDNET[11], are coyly described as being designed to "survive catastrophes and disasters" in their operating environment; with GRIDNET's almost inevitable funding by the Defense Nuclear Agency, it isn't too difficult to imagine the "hostile environment" the authors had in mind when they wrote the article . . .

4. Conclusion — What Can We Do?

Again, the strong ambivalence: technology isn't a monolithic, autonomous thing, a simple black and white, good or bad issue. This is admittedly frustrating for committed activists looking for a simple handle to grasp at issues — and certainly doesn't help the ideological purists amongst us.

I can't pretend that I have many (or any?) answers to the problems raised in this paper, but some points do emerge. More than anything else, we need to adopt rather more discerning and pluralistic strategies than previously seen, and to develop them in such a way that they start from what *is* (what currently exists and is being developed in our social uses of technology, and the social structures involving technology, both internally and externally), and have a well-defined idea about what we would want from a *liberatory technology*, and to recognise that such a term is not quite the oxymoron it often appears to be.

In the field of communications networking, some possible actions and changes might include:

The recognition of what is:

— the original rather anarchic and liberatory possibilities and nature of computer networking are giving way to the darker side described earlier — and these are affecting us *now*, and in a way that many activists do not have the "technical" skills to cope with, and in a way that requires fairly urgent attention. Recognising this problem implies at least that technologists such as myself should try to inform you of what is or is not currently happening in our fields so that all concerned can act with a little more confidence and knowledge; (but see below . . .)

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† Remember that some 68% of my profession in America work for, or have worked for, "defense" industries — and some 56% "would be proud to work in the defense-technology field . . . only 42% said they would be proud to work in the nuclear-weapons industry" (informal reader poll in [9].)

— the use of rather alienating vocabularies, images and ways of speaking both by activists and technologists is fostering the idea that "technology" is an autonomously and monolithically BAD THING, or that social activists don't know what they're talking about . . . Recognition of these phenomena might (at last) see the sort of preaching to the *un-converted* that I have seen little of in this conference, and might help those who are at the site of the design and production, of what could be either liberatory or oppressive technologies, decide with a little more knowledge of the premises and consequences of their choices.

The recognition of an alternative to what is:

— Networks often seem to be almost metaphorically subversive — the underground resistance network, the invisible web of activists, etc; and much of the better technologies of networking can be used against the introduction and rampant misuse of technologies. (The US Govt. recently tried to censor some of the public-access networks, particularly on issues of cryptology and military research, and ran into the problems that a) anyone with a telephone was potentially on the net; and therefore, b) there were some 100 million different possible (or potential) connections between computers that the Government had to check simultaneously . . .). We haven't seen much recognition of the possible subsersive uses of networks yet, but some groups may soon recognise this.

— In a more positive direction, networking is one of those technologies that can display an astonishing tendency to adapt to a non-authoritarian and non-centralised way of working. The UUCP net in USA (to which Australia has a "gateway") is a good example — there is no administrator, all traffic is passed on in a purely cooperative way, the net utilises almost any possible communications links (satellite, phone lines, microwave, etc. . . .), and the net itself extends from Europe through America to Australia, with an amazing range of news and bulletin board articles, serving several million people — all of whom cooperate in a non-coercive way as equals. Needless to say, the US military has been trying to restrict use and access of this net, but with the predictably poor results . . .

At any rate, I expect you have a better idea of what could be done than I could describe in a very short time. This topic, and the more general one of *Technology and Social Control*, deserve more than a single session at a conference. "Technology" is proving to be a rather intractable concept for radical activists, and the realities behind our society's images of technology are proving very dangerous. I came to this conference as a rather naive and willing-to-learn technologist in order to find out what I might do about these problems; I've heard little yet that is encouraging. What are you going to do about it?

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5.   Welsch, L. A.: "Using Electronic Mail as a Teaching Tool", *Comm. ACM,* 23/2 (Feb. 1984), pp105-108; — something of the flavour of things to come; some of the routine work of teaching is already done using electronic mail, news, and marking systems, in many Australian computer science departments; I enjoyed using these teaching tools (as both student and tutor) but suspect that as a computer-literate, I had a distinct advantage over most other users — perhaps future "IQ" tests will bias themselves towards (white-american-professional-class) computer fluency as a sign of potential success in society, replacing the (white-middle-class) bias of reading fluency . . .

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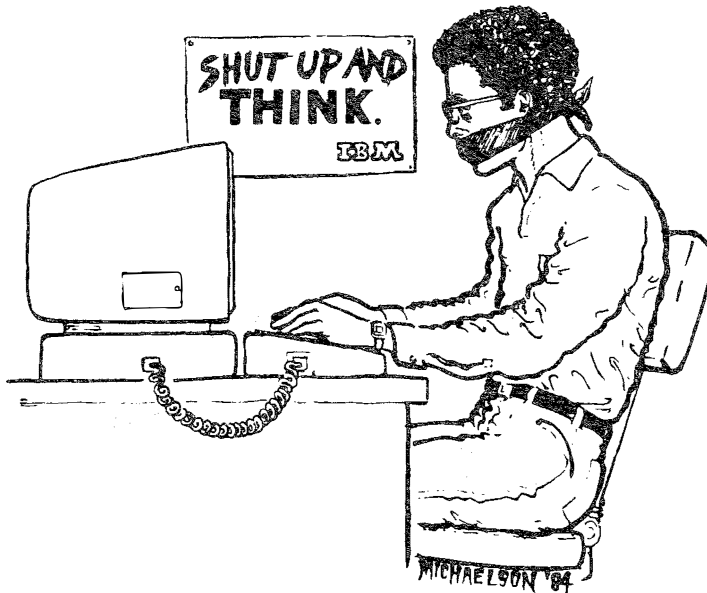
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CNT p6 AWU p8 Syndicalist Unions p14 British Miners p15

"WAGES ACCORD OR CLASS STRUGGLE"

Rebel Worker Group

The ALP (Australian Labor Party) and the ACTU (Australian Council of Trade Unions) Prices and Incomes Accord, consists of a deal between the union bosses and the Hawke ALP Federal Government, whereby the unions would provide "industrial peace" in exchange for the Government maintenance of real wages via wage indexation and a Prices Justification Tribunal. By means of this package the Hawke Government has sought to facilitate Australian Capitalism's weathering of the present economic crisis, by assisting employers to reduce real wages, whilst at the same time avoiding industrial disruption. Thereby, Capital could cut its production costs, acquire new labour saving technology, and become more internationally competitive.

In terms of the realisation of this objective, the Hawke Government has had major success. The national wage cases which have been introduced into the framework of the Arbitration Court by the Government as the centerpiece of its wage indexation scheme, have failed to regain the 9.1% average loss in wages caused by the wage freeze initiated by the previous Fraser Government and maintained by Hawke. Whilst economic experts expect that at the next national wage case hearing, workers may only receive a less than 1% rise or nothing at all. Consequently real wages will be shrunk even further. This national wage case strait jacket, in which the unions have become enmeshed, has had the effect of reducing the level of industrial disputes to the lowest level for six years.

The high level of collaboration between the union hierarchy, the Arbitration Court and the Government in resolving the present crisis of Australian Capitalism at the workers' expense, as manifested in the operation of the Prices and Incomes Accord highlights the degeneracy of the present day Australian union movement. It is characterised by divisions based on skill and political party allegiance and centralised organisation. This structure has led to an independence of officials from the rank and file, and unions involvement in forms of indirect action via negotiations in the Arbitration Court and support of the ALP, culminating in the present "Wages Accord" racket.

In place of the present cabal of union bosses and their "industrial empires", and their entanglements with political parties and the Capitalist State Machine, we present the anarcho-syndicalist programme of the establishment of new revolutionary industrial unions organised on the basis of the direct action of workers on the job. To realise this goal we support the regional and national organisation of combined unions delegate structures — shop committees, as the means of coordinating workers direct action against Capital and as the practical basis on which new revolutionary industrial unions will be built.
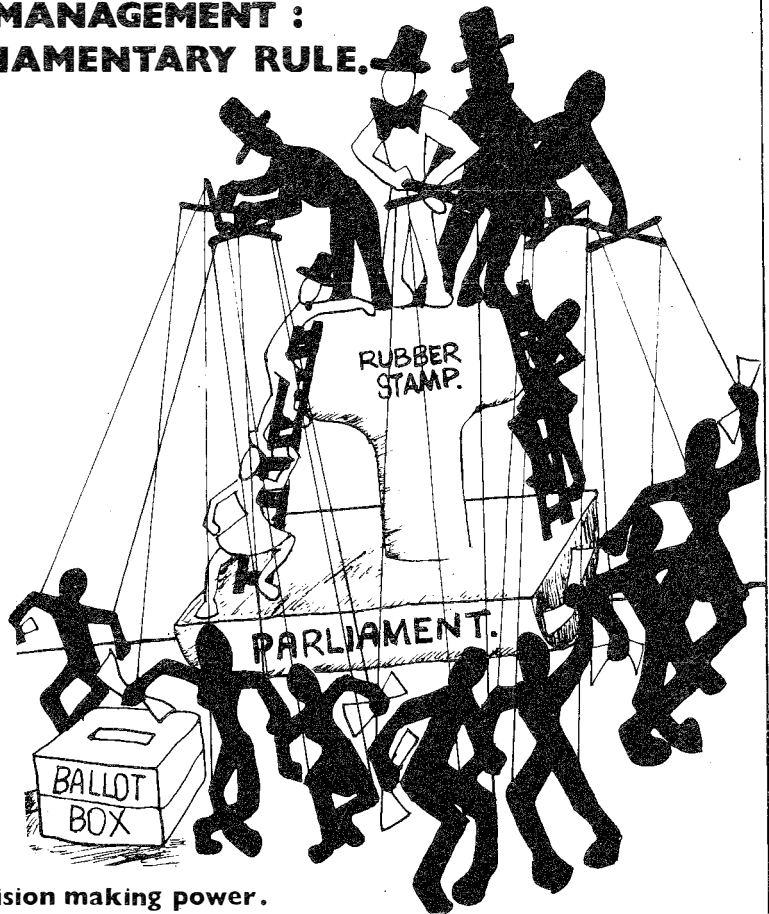
DEMOCRACY MEANS SELF-MANAGEMENT : NOT PARLIAMENTARY RULE.

RUBBER STAMP.

PARLIAMENT.

BALLOT BOX

equal decision making power.
equal distribution of wealth.

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BEYOND THE FINAL ILLUSION

Libertarian Workers

The Australian Labor Party and Trade Unions have been albatrosses around the necks of Australian radical activists since the turn of the century. Radical militants in Australian society have laboured under the impression that they could transform Australian society by capturing power in the Australian Labor Party and Trade Union organisations. Activists have wasted countless years of their lives attempting to capture power in these organisations and when they succeed in capturing power they find they are prisoners of the very organisations they have captured.

Today most non-authoritarian activists have seen the futility of working within the Australian Labor Party and are using their energies to struggle for direct democracy as opposed to Parliamentary democracy. The great majority of non-authoritarian activists understand that power does not lie in parliament and that nothing changes if you capture parliamentary power. Unfortunately the same activists have not seen that the same set of rules applies to Trade Unionism. The Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society believe that the viewpoint that Trade Unions are or can be used as vehicles for radical change in our society is the last illusion taxing the bulk of Libertarian/Anarchist militants in Australia today.

The Background

Trade Unionism took root in Australia in the 1850s. Initially among skilled town workers, somewhat later among unskilled manual workers, workers in pastoral industries and finally among white collar workers. At no time did these early trade unions struggle for a transformation of society. They were mainly concerned with winning improved conditions and wages for their members by the use of industrial tactics. The economic depression in the early 1890s and major strike defeats at the same time, radically altered trade unions emphasis on industrial strategies.

Most Trade Unions threw their weight behind the emerging Labor parties in the different states. As far as electoral gains were concerned, the Trade Unions thrust into electoral politics drew almost immediate results. By 1915 the Labor Party held power at the Federal level as well as five of the six states. The gaining of political power by the Labor Party did not herald any major changes for workers either unionised or non-unionised. To a significant proportion of unionists this lack of change in the workers' lot confirmed the futility of orthodox political action.

The Industrial Workers of the World

The Industrial Workers of the World Australian chapter was formed in 1907 and over the next ten to fifteen years grew to influence the trade union movement. For the first time since the beginning of the trade union movement, a

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workers organisation which challenged the very nature and essence of society was to be found among Australian workers. The I.W.W. was a union organisation which crossed trade barriers and which was not only interested in the wages and conditions of its members but wanted to transform society.

"There is ONLY one union. The class union. Within it, there is a place for every worker in industry. There is NO foreigner save the exploiter. The abolition of the wage system is inevitable. Therefore, working men and women, organise today into the ONLY union, the Industrial Workers of the World."

The I.W.W.'s policies brought it into direct conflict with the state. It was isolated by the general trade union movement as well as the Labor Party and was destroyed by the state by the early 1920s.

1920 - 1980

Since the 1920s there has not been a revolutionary trade union movement in Australia. Trade Unions whether under the control of the Communist Party or the National Civic Council have been concerned with the struggle for the acquisition of members and the struggle for members' wages and conditions. Trade Unions have been strictly trade orientated and you may have the ludicrous situation of having several unions at the same job site, spending more time arguing amongst themselves than in struggling for a decent share of goods produced by society.

Trade Unions are concerned with wage differentials (maintaining them not levelling them out), members conditions and occasionally with matters which affect the general community (the green bans of the '70s and the Medibank national stoppage in 1975). They have never been, or will ever become, instruments which challenge the status quo. The prevailing sentiment among Trade Unions has been "we want a greater share of the cake" NOT "we want the bakery".

Who Runs the Unions

Australian Trade Unions consist of a three tier structure:—
(a) Officials — those individuals who hold constituted offices in the union.
(b) Activists — individuals who are not officials who display an interest in the day-to-day activities of the union.
(c) Rank and File Members — these individuals are distinguished by their distinct lack of interest in union affairs (these individuals constitute the bulk of union members).

The great majority of officials are elected by the rank and file and over the years we have seen some monumental battles between the Communist Party (all varieties) and the National Civic Council for control of various Trade Unions. Full time officials tend to have power over most union activities because they have control over union finances and the day-to-day activities of the union. So having various political activists in positions of authority ensures the continuation of various authoritarian political groups on the left and right.

Unfortunately the capture of offical positions does not alter the role of the union and more importantly many militants have wasted years of their lives maintaining structures which they have no faith in.

The Role of the Shop Steward and the Rank and File in the Union Hierarchy

We have been told many times that it's all very well to criticize union officials but we should remember that a union is not just officials. We are told that there are many rank and file activists and shop stewards who are doing a marvellous job of keeping officials honest. Well, let's get a few facts right, shop stewards are relatively numerous and inactive in the majority of unions.

The shop steward's role is to:

a) Recruit members
b) Collect subscriptions
c) Distribute the Union Journal
d) Occasionally negotiate grievances with employers.

The shop steward in Australia is a dying animal, the collection of union dues by the boss for the union hierarchy has wiped out shop stewards in various unions. The disappearance and relative inactivity of shop stewards has decreased the level of industrial activity and has increased the power of union officials at the expense of the rank and file. Different unions may have different degrees of shop steward and rank and file activity among members but looking at the situation realistically the shop steward and rank and file members have little if any say in union affairs.

The Arbitration System

Most unions depend largely and often wholly on the arbitration system to further their members' needs. The arbitration system is used by the government to control every union in this country. The airline pilots' union was the only union which functioned successfully outside arbitration but the state could not tolerate this affront to its authority and the arbitration system was amended in 1967 so that pilots were drawn in under the arbitration umbrella, although they remained unregistered.

Although many trade union officials talk about working outside the arbitration system, few, if any, have taken this step because they fear that if they work outside the system other unions may be registered and these unions may steal members from them. Registration means that a union is protected against the emergence of new competing unions.

Registration and participation in the arbitration system is the method by which the state wields effective control over the trade unions. The payoff is that unions are recognized by the state and as long as they play by the Arbitration Commission rules (whether at a state or federal level) they are assured of a stable safe future. The legal framework has been used by the state to incorporate and strangle industrial activity by trade unions.

Unions: An Integral Component of Capitalism

Today trade unions are an integral part of capitalism in Australia. Without the assistance of trade unions capital as we know it would not be able to function in Australia. Trade unions are the go-betweens, the middle men of labour relations. Their role is to control labour for capital. For playing this very important role they are fed crumbs from the cake. Whether they are white collar, blue collar or "professional" unions, the main role of a union is control

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of the rank and file by channelling rank and file activity into acceptable challenges to the bosses. Struggles for better conditions and wages; never struggles which challenge the bosses' power. Trade union officials whether "radical" or conservative are part and parcel of this system of control. They have a vested interest in the arbitration system as well as maintaining their power in the union hierarchy. Today labour is controlled through the trade unions. The trade unions, the arbitration system, the state and capital all wallow in the same trough. The Labor Party's role is to incorporate labour into the capitalist system in times of crisis. Today we have the ludicrous situation where 325 unions are locked into an arbitration system which feeds them crumbs while business profitability keeps on increasing. This system has evolved because trade unions have never been organisations which challenge capitalism. In any capitalist society new trade unions would suffer the same fate because of the reformist nature of organisations whcih are trade based.

The Wildcat Strike – Its Significance

The wildcat strike is an expression of frustration with official trade union action and is feared by trade union officials as well as government and the employer, because the struggle is managed at rank and file level. The 1965 Mt Isa strike and the 1977 LaTrobe power strike are examples of wildcat strikes.

Capital finds wildcat strikes extremely dangerous because the rules of struggle have been changed. The formalized channels which the state has set up become irrelevant. The old power brokers (the union officials) have been by-passed and the strike is usually controlled by mass meetings of those involved in the struggle.

The media is not able to comprehend the wildcat because there are no "heroes" to interview and they cannot understand that the rank and file members control their own struggles.

The wildcat is also dangerous for the state and capital because workers begin to understand the power they have when they withdraw their labour and are involved in the day to day organisation of their struggle. Wildcats are also dangerous for the state because the traditional strike may be extended by the adoption of new strategies. Work-ins, occupations and seizure of equipment are all tools which are used in wildcats. In traditional strikes workers withdraw their labour and walk out of their workplace. They become spectators and the control of the struggles falls into the hands of the trade union officials.

In the wildcat strike the workers are activists, not spectators in their struggles and the role of trade union officials as agents of the status quo becomes apparent. A series of wildcat strikes across a nation can herald the beginning of the transformation of society.

Are We Playing Into the Hands of Reactionary Forces By Criticising Trade Unions?

Many people who read this pamplet may say we agree with everything you have said but you should not attack trade unions because you are playing into the hands of the right.

The Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society state that although

reactionary elements among the right see trade unions as enemies, the majority of the right wing in Australia understand the nature of Trade Unions and would not like to see the dismantling of trade unions because they realise there would be no one to manage labour for them.

Trade Unions and the A.L.P. are brakes on radical change in Australia because people believe there are alternatives while the A.L.P. and the Trade Unions remain unchallenged. There is nothing magic or sacred about trade unions. The illusion that trade unions are potentially revolutionary organisations needs to be laid to rest once and for all. At the same time as we challenge the nature of trade unionism we must begin the struggle for self-management in the places where we live and work.

Beyond the Illusion: An Anarchist Strategy

How do we manage the transformation of our society to one which is based on equal decision-making power and an equal distribution of wealth.

The first step is to destroy the illusions our society is based on. Parliamentary democracy, the role of trade unions, the media, corporate capitalism and the free enterprise ethic are illusions which prevent people from seeing the reality around them. At this early stage of the struggle for a self-managed society, "telling the truth is a revolutionary act". (Apologies to George Orwell.)

As far as trade unions are concerned, organisations should be set up in work places, whether office or factory floor, which are not based on trade differentiations but which are open to all workers in that office or factory floor. These organisations should be based on equal decision making power and should not have paid officials. They should not just struggle for wages and conditions, but should have wider goals.

There is no point in holding official positions in established trade union structures because as soon as you do this you lose your independence and become one of the union bureaucrats in the eyes of the rank and file. There is no point in capturing positions of power in trade unions or attempting to reform these trade union structures because it is impossible for unions whose sole reason for existence is the protection of their members' interests to be reformed into instruments for revolutionary change.

We don't ask militants to tear up their union cards, what we ask them to do is to organise work-place organisations which bring together workers who wish to change society, not co-exist with it.

Revolutionary change will not occur unless we are able to break out of fringe activism and challenge the illusions Australian society is based on.

An on-going campaign directed towards rank and file trade unionists, a campaign which attacks parliamentary democracy and a campaign which outlines where real power lies in this country would be an effective start to the spreading of Anarchist ideas in this country. Only when the illusions have been broken will it be possible for anti-authoritarians to escalate the struggle for a self-managed society by creating and defending the dual power situations. The building of a self-managed society cannot wait till the "mythical revolution", it must begin today.

AUSTRALIAN BLACKS—HOW THEY ARE TREATED.

THE EFFECT OF RACISM ON OUR SOCIETY
(or its different expressions and uses)

Lea Loeve

This paper was not meant to be printed originally, but rather delivered verbally in order to establish a dialogue with the audience.

Consequently, some points or repetitions had to be eliminated, some parts added. Overall what was meant to convey is kept.

I'd like to introduce myself. My name is Lea Loeve, I'm born in Egypt of Turkish parents, of Jewish faith, Spanish descent, which makes me an oriental Jewess.

I've migrated to Australia 27 years ago. In this length of time I have witnessed many changes: some which are considered good . . . some not so great, and some on the surface, as far as minority groups go.

As a child I have been subjected to racism and have experienced two very marked periods in my life of racism in its ugliest forms, which contributed for my being here in Australia. I haven't forgotten and that is why I am here to talk about this topic at the Conference. Things haven't changed that much where racism is concerned.

Needless to say that I have again experienced racism in this country, not of the same nature but as painfully.

I am not an academic, I haven't gone to University and therefore what I'll express here will be of a very simple nature. I hope to be able to convey the ugliness and destructive nature of Racism and help to eradicate it. As far back as I can remember, my family has always fought racism in all its forms and in one of its worst expressions, Fascism. We have always taken an active participation in this struggle.

I do not wish to give a lecture, but to rather establish a dialogue and get your participation. We are facing again today a new, virulent and well orchestrated wave of racism. Needless to say that antisemitism, although not expressed or used as openly as in the past, is nevertheless alive.

This wave of racism is not exclusive to Australia. *It's the world over*, more particularly in the industrialised western world. And wherever it is, it remains an astute diversionary area to keep or direct people's minds away from the real issues, and of course throw them against each other.

These waves are, at times of economical and political uncertainty, very acute, and at other times, more subtle, but always there.

Racism being a very vast and complex subject to cover I'll limit myself to the following four points, in very broad lines, in order to allow a dialogue between us all. We all perceive Racism and interpret it differently. It will be good to hear you, the public, express other views, other interpretations, which I assume will not be in contradiction but rather, another aspect of racism.

It is therefore important that each one of us stop and think and share together how we feel and how we react to racism.

Here are the points:

— What is racism or racial discrimination and how is it used?
— Its different forms or faces.
— Who does it benefit?
— Can it be overcome and how?

What is racism? I am only expressing here my interpretation and it is open to correction and additions. Racism is to me all forms of intolerance and discrimination in order to protect specific interests. These interests can take different forms. They can be political, economical and social and all three combined as one overlaps the other. It pinpoints and uses differences in *Race, Religion, Beliefs, Minority* and *disadvantaged groups in general*. It uses these differences to divide groups amongst themselves and thus control them better.

Before I start, I'd like to ask each one of you to ask yourselves, why has racism persisted through centuries, why is it still with us? Specially when one thinks and remembers the Jewish holocaust, the 20 million of Russians killed in World War II, when countries come together to bring down the Declaration of Human Rights in the United Nations.

The way I see it, on an individual level, each one of us has some unbuilt bias. It can be because of our unbringing (religious or other), it can be our environment, the fear of the unknown, fear of threat, parental influence, a specific economic climate, the media, the way it manipulates public opinion, the education system, vested interests, and last but not least privileges. In one word, the system we live in. Because of all these reasons, we become easy preys to racist feelings.

Before I start giving the visible and invisible forms of racism and the way it affects our society, I'd like to stress that racial discrimination has been with us for quite a long time and has always been used *for ulterior motives*.

The visible forms, the blatant ones:
— The conditions in which the Australian Aboriginals live. Their destruction.
— Apartheid in South Africa.
— The treatment of Negroes in USA.
— The destruction of Indians in Central, Latin America, Brazil.
— The mass destruction of Jews during WWII.
— In the Middle East, the massacre of Palestinians in Saba and Chatile.
— The war between Iran and Iraq.
— In India, etc, one can go on, in so many places in the world where hatred is stirred between two people.

Discrimination, killings, destruction fomented because of religion. Throughout history we have witnessed religious wars, Catholics against Protestants and vice versa, Christians against Moslems, Moslems against Moslems, Jewish persecution throughout the ages.

As for the social, economical aspects, one cannot ignore how countries' oligarchies and transnational corporations use military dictatorships to safeguard and protect their interests in many parts of the world. The use of the media to create confusion, influence the public opinion. As a result many governments have been destabilised. Economic strangulation or destabilisiation is used to

force countries to bow to the conditions forced upon them. Third world countries are practically pushed against the wall and their people starving.

These are few of the many examples. Where does racism fit into all of the above.

Do I have to elaborate? Let's think of South Africa? Diamond mines, a vast wealth, need of cheap labour and above all servile and obedient. Blacks therefore cannot be considered as equals. Maintaining one's power, privileges become the law. Blacks are looked upon as inferior.

Aboriginals and Land's Rights.

In Australia, rather than looking at the causes of unemployment a scapegoat is automatically thought of — it's either one community . . . the Social Security "Greek" Fraud, now the Asian invasion, and again and again the "illegal immigrants" taking the Australian worker's job . . . Does anyone know who are the majority of illegal migrants . . . According to some figures given about three years ago 75% were British migrants. I can go on and on with these examples.

Now on the invisible and subtle ones. What comes to my mind is the lack of real representation in areas such as Education, Public Service (Police—Judiciary—Health—Immigration etc) Government (local—State—Federal) just to name a few of the Australia of today. Why isn't there a better representation in the higher echelons of decisionmaking positions. We hear of Australia as a Multicultural Society, we read a lot about it. Is it really so? To me, it doesn't seem so, it sounds rather as another form of controlling minorities, dividing them to better control them.

Finally to the final point.

Can racism be overcome? And how?

I personally haven't got the answer but surely there must be ways in which we can contribute to eradicate racism. It can be through personal awareness, education, reforms, more radical approaches. It would be constructive if each one of you think about it. Go back home and say to yourself today it happens to my neighbour, tomorrow it can be me . . . We can do a lot on a personal basis, it might develop into something bigger . . .

Cleaning the Corridors of Power –

Feral & Feminism
by Jenny Coopes
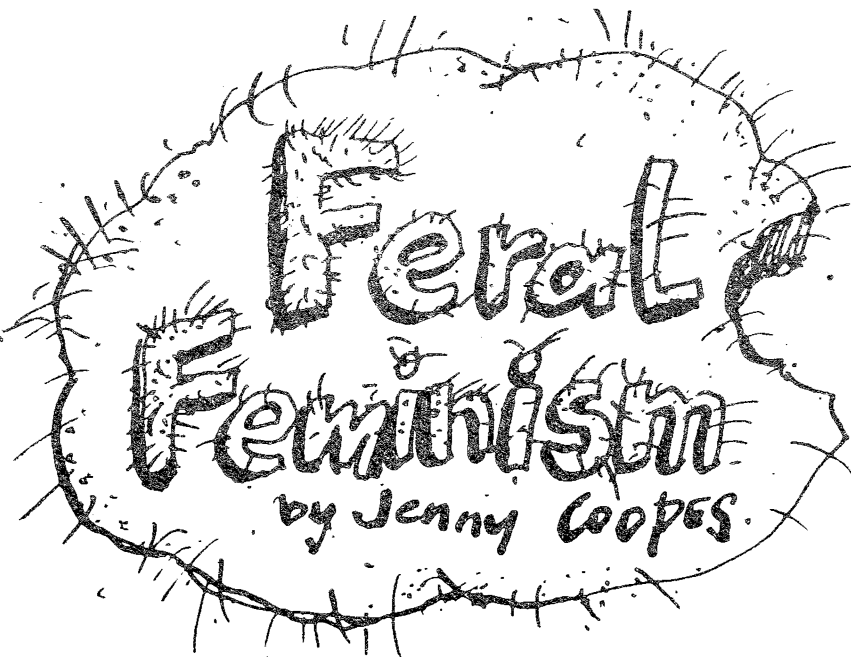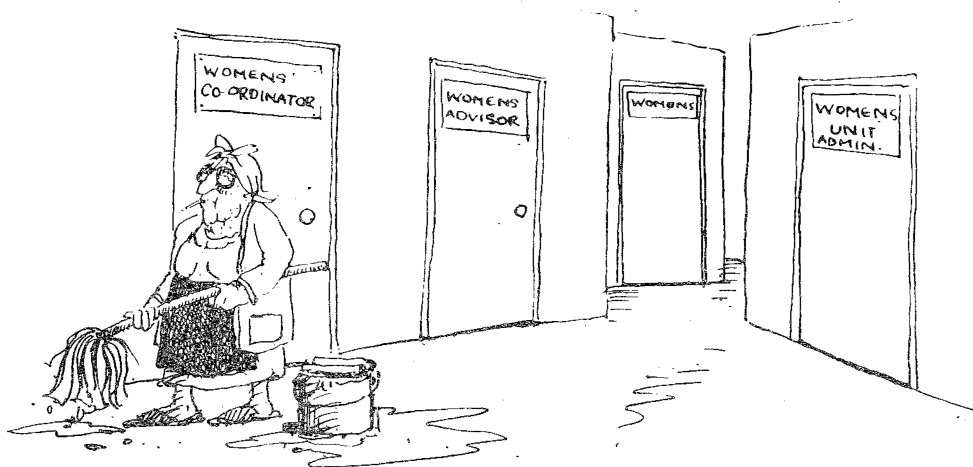
BIG BROTHER/BIG SISTER – THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN 1984

Julie Bishop

Introduction

This paper was meant to be an introduction to the session on Patriarchy. I have decided instead to look at the Women's Movement in 1984 in the context of the overall theme of the Conference – Social Control. I have decided this because of my unease with the manner in which the concept of Patriarchy is used by some campaigns and by some people involved in those campaigns.

The aim of this paper then, is not to reappraise the concept of Patriarchy itself, but to question the way it is *used* as a concept.

Patriarchy is defined as a sexual system of power in which the male possesses superior power and economic privilege. Manifested through male force and control, the roots of patriarchy are located in women's reproductive selves. It is said that from it all forms of oppression spring (eg. it predates capitalism). Patriarchy is seen as the ultimate source of control. The complexities of all social forces – class, sex, race, etc – are often submerged into the single concept of Patriarchy. It is the rationale of this naming of a single enemy which I wish to question.

My aim in this paper is also to suggest the need for viewing issues in their complexity rather than reducing them to a single cause, for the sake of understanding. It is to argue for principled rational stances as opposed to pragmatic ones. It is to argue that the means are the ends.

In so doing, I will look at methods of social control, which may or may not come under the umbrella of Patriarchy. I want to look at current campaigns within the Women's Movement to see if a correlation can be drawn between general forms of social control and controlling influences within the Women's Movement. I want to ask how does this affect a movement whose aim is to change society?

Social Control

What is it?

Answers given to this question include the Police, the Law, the Courts, the State, Ideology, the police inside your head. It is often suggested that, ultimately, we are controlled by actual violence or the threat of violence. However, I wish to raise some other areas:

(i) Powerlessness

What is it that locks people into the situation they are in? Often it is a feeling that there are no alternatives; that there is nothing that can be done; that they do not have any control over the situation.

This feeling of powerlessness, this inability to act, is a form of social control.

(ii) Knowledge – (not education)

Knowledge in the sense of knowing how to go about things, knowing about alternatives, knowing what's available. Simply, "being in the know". Lack of

this knowledge is obviously a means of control.

The question of knowledge is further highlighted when you consider the effects of the introduction of technology. Those who control society will be those who know how to control technology. Those who know nothing of technology will easily be controlled.

Both powerlessness and knowledge as means of social control can be illustrated by the example of a woman living in a situation of domestic violence to whom everyone asks — "Why don't you leave?". She doesn't leave because she feels trapped. She doesn't know where to escape to. She doesn't know how. She doesn't think it would help because she would be found, brought back and then it would be worse. She feels there is nothing she can do. She just hopes something will happen.

(iii) Moralism

"What will the neighbours think." "I'd die if anyone knew." "I couldn't do it, I'd feel too guilty."

No more need be said on the use of Morality/Moralism as a means of control.

The Women's Movement In 1984

There are many women who call themselves feminists and are involved in feminist-related struggles but who do not see themselves as part of the women's movement. Not only do they not see themselves as part of it, but they are often antagonistic to the women's movement.

If asked why this is so, they characterise the women's movement in a particular way; a way that involves knowing a correct line and behaving according to it. They think they have personal aberrations eg. an interest in fashion, which would have to be confessed if involved in the women's movement.

They feel removed from it because of what they see as their own lack of knowledge. They also feel removed from it because of what they perceive as moralistic attitudes towards life choices they have made.

What is ironic in this situation is that the aim of the Women's Movement is to be a liberating force, to allow people to break away from 'social control', to help people to gain a greater personal control.

Is it inevitable that these methods of control are reproduced in movements trying to break them down?

What then is the Women's Movement in 1984?

We can gain an idea of this by looking at its most visible current (June 1984) campaigns. These are: (i) Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity; (ii) Campaign against Global Violence; (iii) Campaign against Sexual Violence.

(i) Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action

This campaign came into public attention with the introduction of the Equal Opportunity legislation and the Green Paper written on Affirmative Action in 1983. It is a campaign run largely by women in the Public Sector — Office of Status of Women and other feminist bureaucrats.

In career terms, this campaign could help someone in my position enormously — (working in the public service in a male dominated industry). I

could climb the ladder and take a managerial position. But — to what end?

Would I as manager change the way work is performed within the industry? Or as a manager would I give more opportunities to women? Or is it that I as a manager would be an example to other women and men so that they accept that women can be managers?

Furthermore, opportunities created by affirmative action are available to only about 10% of the female workforce. What does affirmative action do for, say, the nurse who has always worked with other women, whose problems at work are to do with nursing. Similarly with process workers — what difference does it make to their daily lives if one of their number is chosen to be a supervisor?

Very little.

The affirmative action campaign is a reflection of the middle class nature of the women's movement. It does little to change the real difficulties of women at work and women's work. Middle class women may have their opportunities expanded but it is work as usual for the working class.

Armed with a knowledge of how the (parliamentary) system works, those who believe that they finally have some power (Office of Status of Women etc) are exercising it. But, for their own ends. It is an example of how real change cannot be imposed from above.

(ii) Campaign Against Global Violence.
Peace Camps

The women of Greenham Common in England together with the generalised fear of Nuclear War have probably provided the stimulus to wage this campaign. Its most public manifestation has been the Women's Peace Camp at Pine Gap in November 1983.

To what extent do these campaigns have an effect on the nuclear threat? Is it something which is beyond our control? Is the real problem (the area we *could* control) the conditions which make war feasible and which make this kind of destruction acceptable?

These questions do not suggest that we should not wage these campaigns. Rather they ask that if waged without campaigns against say unemployment or other areas that make war attractive, to what extent are we allowing the *threat* of nuclear way to control our lives.

The enormity of what we are trying to change constantly plays on this feeling of powerlessness. There are no small victories to be had. It reminds us of the difficulty of having any control over our lives. It leads very often to the "Why bother, we could all be dead tomorrow" attitude. It directs our energies away from campaigns we could win; ones that could be an expression of social force and a counter to "their" control.

It is the choice of campaigns for the women's movement that I question in relation to 'social control', rather than the dynamics of the actual campaigns.

(iii) Campaign Against Sexual Violence, Pornography, Rape ...

Pornography and Rape have always been concerns of the women's movement. However, these issues are more current of late because of the X-rated video issue

and the passing of legislation in relation to it.

Pornography and rape are categorised as male sexual violence. Male sexual violence is presented in these campaigns as the paradigm of women's oppression. It is thought that by eliminating male sexual violence, then radically and unalterably society will change.

These campaigns embody high emotion, anger and make pleas against "male cerebration" (thinking). The uninitiated ("newcomers") to the pornography debate, are tantalised with the horror, the ugliness, the degradation, ("the filth") of pornography, paedophilia, sado-masochism or whatever the issue. It is us and them. What we like is erotica. What they like is Pornography. We can look at our erotica and not commit murder. However, once they look at theirs a chain-saw massacre results.

If you disagree with tactics used, you are cast out, seen as someone who is aiding the enemy. You have been "sucked in". You just "don't know".

The ways suggested to eradicate male sexual violence are by use of censorship, jails and calling on the state to implement these measures.

On the one hand sexual violence is pointed to as an area where we are controlled. On the other, the waging of the campaign and the methods used within it, could be seen to not only spring from the same source as that to which it is opposed, but also controlling those involved in that campaign.

What are the issues for 1984?

If you look at the three issues — affirmative action, global violence and sexual violence and then consider that the crucial need for 90% of women in the world today would be clean water and sufficient food, you wonder about their relevance.

However since we are in Australia we must examine issues relating to our lives. Perhaps we should still be looking at the crucial questions raised each time feminism emerges as a social force. These issues include economic independence, jobs, childcare and health care. Today we must also include control of technology. Most importantly we must examine the manner in which we make demands and conduct campaigns.

Conclusion:

Throughout this paper, I have asked a couple of times whether revolutionary change can be achieved through conservative means?

Is it acceptable to say "they do it, why shouldn't we?".

Obviously, the answer is NO.

A total change of the political and economic structure of society will not occur in one big event. Even if the barricades are erected at some stage, this total change will result from a series of battles and smaller changes over a number of years. It will be a long and continuing process of change. Or as Trotsky says, "constant revolution".

Consequently, each struggle is crucial. The ideas embodied in it and the tactics used, no matter how minor the issue, must be those which you would want to see in a reconstructed society; those which you can live with now.

Each campaign is part of the educational process. We learn from each struggle. We determine our ideas of what is possible.

For example, regardless of the tactical effectiveness of the peace marches in achieving global disarmament, these marches perform an important function. Thousands of people who would usually not attend demonstrations march. If they attend one, they will be able to attend others. At the second and third they will bring their friends. If they attend a peace march today and are moved to *actively* fight for one cause, they will be able to fight for another. While these marches (it is argued) may merely be a safety valve for social unrest, for the person marching for the first time this act can have significant repercussions in the life of the individual.

Many lessons can be learnt from the Hawke Labor government where all principle has been sacrificed to political expedience by many party members. The reason for wanting government has been forgotten in the desire to maintain it and not risk its loss. Their desire to catch the middle ground has meant the sacrificing of the needs of the working class. The result has been to push the Liberal Party to the right in an attempt to have different policies to the Labor Party.

A supposed left-wing party was elected to government. When they leave office, their legacy will be a more right wing society than that at the beginning of their term in office. At each stage, they will have said, "We just need *to do this for now*, because what we really want to do will not be accepted (either by the Americans or the electorate)". The problem is, we never get to later.

Similarly we can argue against the use of censorship as a political tactic for us to use. Since we are not in a position to control the use of censorship, by arguing for it, no matter what the context, we are giving validity to its existence as a political weapon for those who are able to control its use. And it will be used against us. Any examination of history will testify to this.

For example, the issue of *Tharunka* in the 1970's which lead to the arrest of its editors for publishing banned material, was significantly an issue which contained the banned Jerry Rubin's "Do it". This work was a statement of the Yippies, a political group in the USA in the late sixties calling for direct action. It was published alongside pornography, which was the general explanation for the arrest and trial.

Within the context of the X-rated videos debate, it is 2SER-FM who are having difficulties at present. They are under threat of losing their broadcasting licence for putting to air a Lesbian-sex special.

These examples tell us why we have to keep the principle behind political actions always in mind. It is why we have to be aware of the means of social control. It is why we cannot argue for political expediency because it provides an interim solution. The interim is it.

We must criticise campaigns in which we are involved as rigorously as those which we oppose. If talking about social control we must also look at how we control ourselves as well as how we personally are controlled.

"Nowhere is woman treated according to the merit of her work, but rather as a sex. It is therefore almost inevitable that she should pay for her right to exist, to keep a position in whatever line, with sex favours. Thus it is merely a question of degree whether she sells herself to one man in or out of marriage, or to many men. Whether our reformers admit it or not, the economic and social inferiority of women is responsible for prostitution."

Emma Goldman

The ducking cage punishment for prostitutes at Toulouse
(after an engraving: P. Dufour's *History of Prostitutes*)

STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE

·Roz Nelson (C.A.P.)

The Collective of Australian Prostitutes (CAP) is part of an international link of prostitute organisations around the world, formed to provide support, information and expression networks for those working in the sex industry providing sexual services for men.

CAP is both an activist and lobby group made up of people who are personally employed in the sex industry and people who support the rights of sex-workers, to be recognised as legitimate employees in a commercial business with full economic and legal rights, be they women, heterosexual or gay men, or transvestite prostitutes.

First and foremost we are an organization of prostitute women for prostitue women, campaigning for the right of women to be financially independent from men, the right to have sexual choices, control of our bodies and equal pay.

The first stirrings of women organizing themselves for these demands was in USA in the 1960s by Black women, who led the welfare movement where "millions of single women won cash payments for the work of raising their· kids" (Jaget, 1980: 10).

As women, to have control of our bodies, we have to have economic independence — money — and as women it is what we have least of.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s massive campaigns have been launched by women for control of our bodies and recognition of our services. Third World women fighting against government sterilization programs as a means of controlling the population and women's lives. Women campaigning for control of their own fertility and the right to have abortions when they choose. Wives and mistresses campaigning for financial recognition of their services as housewives and mothers in the divorce courts over settlement payments.

In a male dominated consumer-profit oriented society such as ours, prostitution becomes its natural by-product. Women have been bought and sold for centuries, as slaves, through marriages and their dowries, in advertising on car bonnets, chocolate boxes and in tourism. We are still packaged as consumer durables to this day.

The sellers of these products — businessmen, husbands, car dealers, confectionary manufacturers and travel agents — increase their profits and line their pockets with the pay-off from exploiting women and their bodies.

Prosititution is a more overt form of exploitation and business transaction, with a difference: in prostitution women accept the contract for the price of financial independence. It is the only 'game' women can play and win for the cost of being exploited. The game becomes dangerous because as prostitutes we threaten men's control and power over us in that we are open and upfront to a degree about what we do.

Having set the demand and need for themselves, men through the State

Government, Councils, police and legal systems, then try to control and restrict us as we have become a public eyesore of immorality to be contained out of sight but not out of mind.

Although as prostitues we can achieve relative economic independence that we wouldn't otherwise be able to achieve in the open labour market, with high unemployment and low paid jobs available to us, the price we pay is high. It involves living and working in a two-fold existence of who we are and what we do, escaping the morality of people around us, arrests, violence, harassment and fear of losing our kids and anyone else we choose to financially support and live with.

Prostitute organisations have developed all around the world in the .past decade. Since the French occupation in 1975, when the Lyons prostitutes went on strike and occupied local churches, and their actions spread throughout France, prostitutes have joined together and formed groups and organisations throughout England and America with support from prostitues in countries all over the world.

In one united voice each and all are fighting for the abolition of prostitution laws and recognition of women's economic and legal rights. Prostitute groups and organizations are extensions of the Women's Movement fighting for survival. The issues and campaigns which prostitutes fight for are the same issues and campaigns that affect all women to a lesser or greater degree.

Prostitutes are not prostitution. They are people whose work is a commercial business and the same as a person who works in a repair garage, runs a delicatessen, or owns any other shop.

Moral connotations are attached to prostitution because it supposedly deviates from the norm of acceptable work, which is presumed most average 'normal' people would gain employment in. The wrong and automatic assumption is then that because prostitution is deviant then so are the people who are involved in it. Hence the view that they are their work.

Prostitution is not viewed as being an unacceptable occupation because it is a male demand, as clients of prostitutes are not seen as deviant, immoral and doing an unacceptable practice. It is only the prostitutes who are labelled and stigmatised as 'deviants'. Aboriginal, ethnic, gay and transsexual prostitutes suffer alongside prostitute women in that they are stigmatised by moral outrage and harassed for being who they are and what they do. By our work, race and/or sex, all of us are outcasted from mainstream society with the rights and privileges that are afforded to white, straight males, and from which our legal system has been derived.

Prostitutes in France started to organize themselves in the early 1970s following a number of murders of prostitute women in Lyons (not unlike the situation in England with the Yorkshire Ripper, or the spate of killings of prostitutes in Los Angeles). The women not only had to cope with living in fear of being murdered and receiving little by way of protection from the police, but also faced increasing arrests, fines and harassment by police to boot (Jaget, 1980: 12). The courts quite openly reduced the value of the· murdered wo-

men's lives by their attitude that they were only prostitutes anyway. The women were fighting a losing battle on their own, so they decided to group together to organize and decide what they could do about their situation. They contacted other prostitutes, held meetings, wrote to the press, and approached various government ministers and departments of government, but all to no avail. They were powerless and with few resources (Jaget, 1980: 12).

The one resource they all had at their disposal were their labour, their sex and their bodies. They withdrew all of these and decided on a strike. They did have this power and they used it. The strike took the form of occupations of churches which quickly spread throughout France (Jaget, 1980:13).

Above all of this the prostitutes were women, some married, some with families and kids; women doing a job. A strike would make people listen to their demands and draw public and media attention, and also bring attention to other workers, who were also married and had families and kids to support. The public saw and heard of the appalling conditions and discriminations that differentiated them by supposedly democratic egalitarian forces (Jaget, 1980: 14).

A lot of what came out of the strike was basic education about who prostitutes were and what they did. The truth about them started to break down the moral frontier and warped consciousness people had about prostitutes and prostitution. For the first time they could speak for themselves, and people had to accept them for real people, and not as freaks, nymphomaniacs or deviants, but as women doing a job to support themselves and their families (Jaget, 1980: 14).

The public became more informed and more interested, some joined in the women's occupations, campaigns and struggle for recognition and equality. Prostitutes held public meetings and discussions in all types of venues, from churches to cinemas. They became known as the French Collective of Prostitutes (Jaget, 1980: 14).

The French Collective of Prostitutes had made its stand and in doing so changed many women's lives. Not only prostitute women who sold sex for money, but women who had prostituted themselves in marriage and at work in order to remain secure. They too had sold themselves for a different price.

Prostitutes in England gained much strength from their sisters' experience in France. Margaret Valentino and Mavis Johnson inspired by the French events founded the English Collective of Prostitutes (ECP) in 1975 as an individual organisation within the International Wates for Housework Campaign (IWHC) (Jaget, 1980: 25). The organisation was a good base for it demanded recognition of women's unpaid labour in the home and the rights to women's economic independence. They recognized prostitute women's contribution to winning that fight. Prostitute mothers and housewives get paid for their sexual services which all other women are expected to give for free, which is their way of getting paid to bring up their kids and run their homes and families, an economic independence that otherwise they could not achieve (correspondence from ECP, 1 May, 1983).

Selma James, founder of IWHC, became the first spokeswoman for the English Collective of Prostitutes (ECP). Prostitutes are socially, economically, and legally vulnerable, and they are at great risk in speaking out publically for themselves. As a housewife and mother she spoke out on their behalf (Jaget, 1980: 25).

The demands fo the ECP were simple: "We are campaigning for the abolition of all laws against prostitutes – laws which create and perpetuate economic and legal discrimination against women by denying us the civil and human rights which are available to others:–

– justice against illegal arrests and police harassment

– financial protection: contingency funds and housing for women wanting to get off the game or leave violent relationships

– adequate welfare benefits because many prostitute women are forced to stay on the game because they have nowhere to go and been refused Social Security" (ECP, 1 May, 198).

Soon after the ECP was formed the New York Prostitutes Collective was established and worked alongside Black Women for Wages for Housework (Jaget, 1980: 25).

As sister organisations the French, English and American women worked together strengthening the international link. In 1977 the ECP had gathered support from many sections of the community and succeeded in taking the prostitutes debate into the Houses of Parliament. Baroness Joan Vickers called for the abolition of all laws against prostitutes (ECP, 1 May 1983). In 1978 prostitute groups came together to lobby MPs and show a film in the House of Commons about Margot St James of the American prostitute organisation, Coyote, with speakers from ECP, PROS (Programmes for the Reform of Soliciting), and Helen Buckingham of PLAN (Prostitution Laws Are Nonsense), putting forth their views together with Wilmette Brown of Black Women for Wages for Housework (USA) and representatives from Coyote (Call Off Your Tired Old Ethics) and the New York Prostitutes Collective (Jaget, 1980: 29).

The day after this event MP Maureen Colquhoun presented a Ten Minute Rule Bill in the House of Commons in support of prostitutes. This lobbying resulted in the eradication of prison sentences for loitering and soliciting for the purposes of prostitution in 1983. Non-payment of fines remains the only offence for which prostitutes can still be jailed (Jaget, 1980: 29).

Since the establishment of ECP they have contributed extensively to Jaget's *Prostitutes, Our Life*, lobbied the trade union movement, organised workshops, opened a legal services centre, and occupied the Holy Cross Church in London in 1982 to protest over police illegal arrests and racist attitudes towards prostitutes. As a result of their campaigns Camden Council paid for the cost of a monitor to observe police procedures. Also, the Departments of Housing and Social Services agreed on a contact person in each department to help women who wish to leave prostitution (ECP, 1 May 1983).

The situation for prostitutes in Australia is not dissimilar to the historic oppression of Aboriginals and their displacement from traditional lands by

colonialist and white settlers. Among the first to arrive on the ships from England in the 1780s were women who became prostitutes in 'our land of golden opportunity'. A land of opportunity for white men who used the 'opportunity' to exploit Blacks and women.

Now too the prostitutes of East Sydney and Darlinghurst are being displaced from their traditional working grounds by real estate colonialists and the nouveau riche middle class settlers who are attempting to change a traditional red light area to set their standards, pockets and interests. Australia's 'strategies for change' seems to be not one for learning from experience but to repeat it differently. Maybe they feel that people won't notice that they are racists if they are sexist too.

The Collective of Australian Prostitutes was formed on 13 July 1983 in response to the mounting pressure by residents, Council and police to displace us and to restrain our trade to commercial areas only.

The first major tactic used by these moralistic resident action groups (RAGS –Darlinghurst and Riley St Resident Action Groups) was to pressurize the State Government into taking a step backwards in legal history by reversing in part the repeal of The Summary Offences Act in 1979 to again outlaw soliciting except in areas zoned for commercial use. This amendment to the Prostitution Act came about on 25 April 1983. It was one of the fastest, least researched, and certainly the most ill-defined laws to eventuate.

What it did achieve was the recognition that from here on the residents could use political ploy by putting pressure on the Council, the police and the State Government so that their interests were covered, and in return would give their support at election times.

Since the change in the new prostitution laws, the East Sydney and Darlinghurst RAGS have succeeded in mounting a campaign with Sydney City Council and the police force to rid 'their' area of brothels by unethical means. The Council resorted to using a thirteen year old town planning ordinance stating certain businesses could not operate in areas chiefly residential. This tactic, however, disguised the fact that prostitution in brothels were not listed among the prohibited businesses. Due to the fact that other commercial businesses, including the prohibited businesses – car repair stations, hotels, refreshment rooms, among others, also operate in the area, the brothels were difficult to dislodge. At the same time the Council was charging commercial rates to houses from which very often only one or two prostitutes worked, thereby clearly recognising them as businesses.

Having contradicted themselves and unable to remove brothels from the residential areas of East Sydney and Darlinghurst, the Council backed by the RAGS, closed off sections of the local streets, including Riley, Yurong and Burton Streets on 2 December for a 'trial period only'.

This move not only substantially reduced traffic flow and the problems of noisy, harassing male passers-by, some of whom visited prostitutes in neighbouring houses, but it also succeeded in restricting the trade and halved the economic livelihood of not only prostitute women but corner shops, car repair

garages and other businesses in the local area.

Finally the police moved in, their tactics being even less savoury. Headed by Detective-Inspector Ernie Shepard of the Vice Squad, the police resorted to a moral clean-up campaign by reintroducing the forty year old Disorderly Houses Act 1943.

Throughout this time the Collective of Australian Prostitutes (CAP) has been campaigning against the discriminatory practices used against prostitutes. We have written letters and sent petitions to the Sydney City Council, to Premier Wran, and the Lord Mayor, Alderman Sutherland, asking that the Council's actions be stopped until the Parliamentary Select Committee Upon Prostitution's reports and recommendations are tabled before Parliament.

We have given evidence to the Select Committee on social, criminal and health aspects of our work as prostitutes. Together with representatives from other groups in which prostitutes are involved, Gays Counselling Service, Twenty-Ten and the Australian Transsexual Association, we have formed the Task Group on Prostitution and presented a number of submissions to the Select Committee with the following recommendations:—

1. The repeal of all laws presently used against prostitutes on the basis that they are sexist and discriminate against women in general, and that sex-workers should be granted the same respect, protection and legal rights accorded to all workers in all industries.

2. We are against any degree of state control over prostitution; firstly, because historical examples of the effects of state intervention has demonstrated clearly the detrimental effect this has on workers in the sex industry; and secondly, because we believe that prostitutes themselves should be given every encouragement to manage their own businesses to the same extent as self-employed and independent workers everywhere.

3. For prostitutes to be able to self-manage and regulate their own industry. Government funding and support is needed for back-up services, such as Kings Cross Women's Health and Legal Resource Centre to be able to provide services in health care, legal advice, child minding and other facilities for women of the inner city region, including sex workers.

4. Drug education, referral, support and detoxification services are desperately needed for the high percentage of drug users in this area, many of whom are also mothers and prostitutes. It is imperative that these services be run by women, including ex-prostitutes and ex-drug users, who are sensitive to and understand the problems facing prostitute and drug dependent women.

5. We in CAP need funding to be able to adequately continue to provide support to workers in the sex industry, especially with regard to our role of relieving a sense of isolation felt by other prostitutes. Funding would enable us to provide a link between sex workers and other welfare services, including liaison with Kings Cross Women's Health and Legal Resource Centre.

6. The Task Group on Prostitution recommends the expansion of funding for existing gay welfare services and agencies, such as Gays Counselling Service and Twenty-Ten to a level which would allow effective servicing to be

provided to those members of the gay community involved in prostitution either as clients or workers.

7.   We also recommend the continuation and expansion of funding for the Australian Transsexual Assocation, particularly in its capacity as managers of Tiresias House, given that the shelter provided by this establishment includes those transsexuals working in prostitution, as well as other transsexuals. Because of the virtually absent job opportunities for most transsexuals which predispose many of them to prostitution to survive, Tiresias House offers a viable alternative to prostituting.

8.   Further recommendations made by our combined groups include that the Emergency Accomodation Unit of the Housing Commission provide more housing, which availability should reduce the need to enter prostitution because of a shortage of housing and exhorbitant rents, whilst at the same time enabling prostitutes who want to leave the game to do so and who otherwise could not, due to a lack of resources.

9.   We recommend that the Government increase welfare pensions and benefits to an adequate living wage, particularly for unemployed juveniles, such that they have a realistic alternative to prostitution for survival.

10.   We recommend that a community based health screening and information service be set up to give free health checks to workers at the street level.

11.   For as long as out society perpetuates unequal power gender relationships, prostitution will always exist. To alleviate the persecution of prostitutes and the prevailing discriminatory attitudes towards women, community education on prostitution is badly needed to promote positive views about those who work in the sex industry. Educational programs along these lines should be incorporated into not only school curricula but the police academies and medical schools training courses.

12. CAP strongly supports the idea of having a representative for prostitutes on the membership body of the NSW Women's Advisory Council.

Since we established CAP in Sydney we have been involved in two levels of operation: primarily our contact has been with other workers on the game; and working in the public arena.

Initially we held regular meetings in different halls around Kings Cross, discussing social, legal problems and tactics. Some of the workers drafted a letter to the Anti-Discrimination Board, others wanted support at court cases.

The meetings were difficult to organise and cut into everyone's working times. Others felt vulnerable in coming to meetings and were concerned about their anonymity. On top of that, child care was often a problem because the meetings were at so many different venues. Finally, we stopped having organised meetings, but decided to continue them in the form of street work. Individually and in pairs 'we visit workers in brothels, parlours and houses, and on the street around Kings Cross, East Sydney and the suburbs. Occasionally, we group for the distribution of leaflets providing information on tenancy advice, legal rights and reports on workers experiences overseas through our

contacts with ECP. The women felt safer on their home ground and much freer to be able to discuss what they wanted. Streetwork has the added benefit of being able to contact new workers on the streets as well as those who have moved from one brothel to another because of Council and police closures. It also enables other members of the Collective, such as students and supporters who haven't worked, to gain a greater understanding of prostitution at street level.

The other major area the Collective is involved in is public education and awareness about all aspects of prostitution. We have spoken at public meetings and conferences, such as the seminar on police harassment of minority groups organised by Civil Liberties on 27 September 1983, a seminar on prostitution organised by Toleration, which includes Women's Electoral Lobby, on 23 October 1983, a discussion on prostitution for ASSERT (Australian Society of Sex Educators, Researchers and Therapists) on 6 March 1984, and numerous talks before various women's groups and students.

We have worked on prostitution policy for the Australian Union of Students (AUS) who have made available funding for a New South Wales state based campaign on prostitution.

Our advice has been sought from various groups also writing submissions to the Select Committee Upon Prostitution, such as the Northern Region of the Health Department and the Australian Legal Workers Group, the Government Interdepartmental Task Force On Drug Dependent Prostitutes and the Young National Party.

Although we have less control over media editing in the press, on television and radio, we still see the importance of being able to express the purpose and need for the existence of CAP and our working experiences as prostitutes.

The Melbourne branch of CAP formed a few months after the Sydney base was established and we have been liaising together on various issues.

Due to prostitution legislation in Victoria being more stringent than in New South Wales, it has been difficult for our Melbourne members to speak in public.

The Victorian Humanist Society in Melbourne has been concerned about the issue of prostitution and the law as it presently stands. This Society has funded representatives from CAP in Sydney to meet with Melbourne's Collective sisters and for these representatives to speak at conferences, seminars and publicity activities that the Society has organised.

As the Collective of Australian Prostitutes has established two national offices within only six months, we have well and truly strengthened the fight for the recognition of prostitutes and above all, women's rights.

We are the strategy and we are making the change!

1984, ADVERTISING AND SOCIAL CONTROL
A B.U.G.A. U.P. PERSPECTIVE OF ADVERTISING IN 1984

B.U.G.A. U.P.

Introduction
The year 1984 opened with an intensive but brief media onslaught. The *Sydney Morning Herald* serialised the book, a cascade of analytical articles appeared but since then 1984 hasn't been much different from 1983. George Orwell's ideas deserve to be debated publicly and explained to a wider audience.

The aim of this paper is to concentrate on just a couple of aspects – the use of the English language and the class structure in our society. With examples it is hoped to show that advertising corrupts the English language and is a powerful tool of social control.

Definitions and Disclaimers
* Advertising, in this paper, doesn't mean the classified ads in the weekend newspaper or informative ads that describe goods and services but rather the advertisements which attempt to create a desire for a product in the consumer. This advertising plays on our emotions and promises that we can partake of the lifestyle if we buy the product.

* There is no dispute that advertisements are skilfully made with a great deal of effort and technical competence. Most people find ads entertaining and enjoyable to watch but the purpose of all ads is to sell the product and my aim is to question the methodology and morality of this process.

* It is impossible to write about advertising without mentioning cigarette advertising. As things have turned out, this paper is more than half about cigarette ads, but keep in mind that the Australian Association of National Advertisers and similar industries strongly support the tobacco lobby in its struggle, and the industry as a whole must take the responsibility.

Orwellian – This Year's Overworked Adjective
The slogan "Big Brother is Watching You" sums it up. The word Orwellian has entered our language to represent centralised control by a faceless organisation and the resulting gloom and pessimism under malevolent authority. "Orwellian nightmare" is already a cliche.

Orwell saw his book as a showup of the perversion to which a centralised economy is liable. He drew attention to the political, social and economic structure that resulted from the necessity to prepare for total war. *1984* was deliberately set in Britain to warn that totalitarianism could triumph anywhere and he wrote "the danger lies also in the acceptance of a totalitarian outlook by intellectuals of all sorts".

A Topical Satire Or A Gloomy Prophecy?
More than anything, *1984* is a satire of 1948 – a grim reflection of war ravaged Britain and the rationing that continued well after the war ended. Orwell described a grey, miserable economy of perpetual shortages and perpetual propaganda.

Social Control Conference Papers

Bernard Crick, author of *Orwell: A Life*, has identified no less than seven main satiric thrusts in *1984*, including totalitarianism, power-hungry intellectuals and the falsification of history for political purposes. Within the scope of this article, Orwell's ideas on the control of the common people by the mass media and the debauching of the English language are particularly interesting.

Today in Australia our shops are crammed with goods but we are subjected to enormous government and private sector propaganda.

Our advertising is allowed to contain emotional messages and people are gullible — they want love, affection and self-esteem, and they respond to emotional offers from advertisers. People are exploited when their raised expectations remain unfulfilled after they have bought products that promised popularity, glamour, adventure, happiness, etc.

When advertisements tell us about our feelings, they are cashing in on our fears, insecurities and dreams. By selling us products using ads to provide role models with which we can identify they are in essence "selling us ourselves".

The Ministry of Truth

We can compare the Ministry of Truth with the modern advertising agency with its clients and its media bookings. The real world as they wish us to see it is continually being reworked and rewritten so that new products can be shown in a favourable light to the intended market. Truth is not an essential element in this procedure since giving genuine product information is not part of the exercise.

Even our own Government rewrites history, but perhaps in a more benign way: foreign currencies, old weights, measures and distances are all converted to new values so that we can understand them. It now seems that the size of British nuclear explosions has been adjusted in public accounts so as not to alarm anybody. This week our Prime Minister has said the US installations at Pine Gap, North West Cape and Nurrungar are not military bases — they only give early warning of missile launches and monitor nuclear explosions.

One celebrated case of rewriting history is the Soviet encyclopaedia which portrayed Trotsky in successive editions as a hero, then as a traitor and finally as an unperson.

Orwell feared that truth could be buried since he saw truth as a necessary foundation for social justice.

When is an advertising slogan a lie? Since 1976 Winfield ads have stated "Five smokes ahead of the rest" and at the time this was literally true, since it was the first in 25's and all others were the rest. With the advent of 30's and cheaper cigarettes (price per cigarette), the Australian Consumers Association complained in 1983 that the slogan breached the Code of Ethics wherein ads must be truthful, and shall not be misleading or liable to misinterpration. This complaint was rejected on the grounds that Winfield were the first brand to market 25's and even though 60 percent of the market is now 25's this does not negate the original comparison. Writing in *Media Information Australia*, Simon Chapman and Bernie McKay from the NSW Dept of Health, said people were expected to reflect back seven years to make sense of this claim. In reply,

the Chairman of the Advertising Standards Council said the slogan "Five smokes ahead of the rest" obviously aimed at brand preference and could hardly have referred to the number in the packet or the price comparable with other brands.

Newspeak

Newspeak in *Nineteen Eighty Four* is the official language of the state. People must be conditioned to speak it for the political benefit of the state.

The aim of Newspeak is to reduce language to the lowest common denominator so that every concept can be expressed by only one word or in a narrow way so that the meaning is unambiguous. Thought is thereby limited to fashionable jargon of the moment and the complex shades of meaning available in the English language are lost. Orwell wrote frequently on the use of language, and he desired a simplification of English so that politicians and bureaucrats could not hide behind long phrases and euphemisms. The Newspeak of *1984* is defined by its rude clarity and lack of ambiguity and as the language of the state it prevents any deviation from the orthodox political line. The opposite of good is ungood and thus doubleplusungood can be roughly translated as "failing to match up to the attributes considered mandatory in the circumstances under present consideration".

Over the years the accepted definition of Newspeak has become the reverse of Orwell's proposal. Newspeak is the jargon that obscures or replaces a simple word. The truth is disguised in such phrases such as Hitler's "final solution" which simply means murder. Pentagon watches have tabulated numerous examples such as deaths becoming body count, disadvantaged for starving, peace keeping operation for war, the classic anticipatory retaliation, meaning attack first.

In the world of advertising words take on hackneyed meanings as copywriters strive to create each new successful campaign and "new" itself must be the most overworked word in the business, as old products are dressed up in new wrappers to adjust to the changing lifestyle of consumers. The word "popular" is just a polite word for working class; for example "good value at a popular price". Overworked words like tangy and zesty are devoid of real meaning and "real" becomes an extra word writers have to use to reassure the reader that normal lying and exaggeration has temporarily ceased. So Fray Bentos canned meat pies feels obliged to say "More real meat, more real flavour, more to your liking".

The slogan "Move up" was used by Rothmans in launching its 25's pack in 1982. Valerie Lawson expended her entire column in the *Herald* one Monday trying to divine the meaning of this phrase only to miss the sexual overtones of a large upward pointing arrow with a tube running to its middle.

Doublethink

Doublethink is the capacity to hold in your head two opposite statements simultaneously without seeing the contradiction. The statement unacceptable to the party is automatically rejected. In *1984* this exhilarating mental exercise is applied to every aspect of perceived reality. The past serves the present and only the party memory is reliable. In *1984* no brainwashing is necessary

as the mind of the intellectual must be free to conform once he has learned to use doublethink.

The most famous phrases are of course "War is Peace", "Freedom is Slavery" and "Ignorance is Strength".

The exciting world of tobacco advertising excels in doublethink. Fresh is stale, new is the same old product, mildness is flavour, individuality is mass drug taking, freedom is addiction, freedom of choice requires no product information.

Tobacco brands in the USA attempt to suspend rational thinking with names such as Vantage, Merit, True, Now, More and Fact. Ominously in the USA, the second top brand after Marlboro is called Winston.

The slogans of Coca Cola are symbolic of life itself and are not descriptive of the product — "coke is it" and "coke adds life". The award winning Coke ads are so enjoyable with so much fun and action that nobody notices the lack of product information, the high price (there's no oil crisis until petrol costs more than coke), the 11 percent sugar, the throwaway containers. Whenever you see these you should mentally translate them to become "coke isn't" or "coke is zit (an American pimple)" and "coke ads lie".

The Nature of Freedom

In Orwell's *1984* "only proles and animals are free" and the thinking individual is totally subordinate to the needs of the state. Australians today are free by political standards but there is some dispute over the meaning of the word "free" in advertising. Freedom of speech gets blurred with the free enterprise system.

The right to advertise came to a head last year in W.A. when the tobacco industry lobbied successfully to defeat a proposed Bill in the parliament banning the advertisement of tobacco products. In their article "The Cigarette Debate" Michael Blakeney and Jill McKeough have examined the slogan "if a product is legal to sell, it should be legal to advertise" and found it indefensible. They said, "More recently, our society has recognised that the so called right to advertise should be subject to the countervailing right of the public to be protected from falsity, deception and unconscionable representations" and continued, "The emergence of these countervailing rights and freedoms followed over one century of abuse by advertisers of their freedom of speech and enterprises". These authors also question why it is legal to sell cigarettes and mention the 1969 US Senate Inquiry where it was submitted, "if cigarettes were a new product about to be marketed with full knowledge that their consumption would kill hundreds of thousands, their sale would be banned without hesitation or quibble".

The industry viewpoint was put by Phil Scanlan, Public Relations manager for Amatil (they make Benson and Hedges and junk food such as Smiths Crisps) speaking at a luncheon for the ethnic press: "For the tobacco industry, the issue is the right to corporate free speech, the right to compete in the market place, indeed the obligation to compete in the marketplace, and the right of access to corporate financial growth in a competitive free enterprise system".

He spoke with disdain of Ralph Nader, describing him as an "offshore import". Nader last year in Sydney said consumers were being defrauded whilst the libertarian attitude "freedom of choice" is expounded by big business. "Corporate values have infiltrated into our own thinking so much that we carry their attitudes into the market place. Supermarkets pretend they are doing us a favour by letting us into their store." In question time Nader blasted "freedom to choose" as proposed by the tobacco industry, saying freedom for such an industry undermined the sanctity of human life.

The "1984" Class Structure in Advertising Today

The inner party are an elite clique who possess the "truth" and use it for propaganda purposes. The modern parallel is corporations that use persuasive advertising to hide the truth so that their unhealthy products can still sell.

The outer party in *1984* are educated people who have sold out intellectually to retain their jobs. Today there are politicians and bureaucrats who claim they are immune from advertising and who place their emphasis on practical considerations such as tax revenue, defending sport sponsorship and placating industry figures. The ranks of the outer party are now swelled by junior advertising executives and creative directors who defend ads as fun, appealing, entertaining and creative and are able through their own jargon to switch off any thought that the consumers they are targeting might be real people or even adolescents in search of a clear self image.

The Working Class (The Proles)

Only the 15 percent of "Airstrip One" in the Outer Party are subject to the discipline of the government and the remainder are proles who are not controlled by the state at all. Big Brother has no need to watch workers drinking in bars, women hanging out washing or people reading the *Sun* or the *Mirror*.

It has been said that Orwell doesn't take the working class seriously -- they exist in a dull place with dull pleasures dully savoured. They are free but they do not understand freedom.

There are, to a watcher of advertising, stunning parallels between the proles and the situation today. In *1984* the working class are portrayed as inert, unchanging and satisfied with weak beer, pornographic films and the state lottery. Their preferred reading is newspapers nicknamed prolefeed. Sounds familiar doesn't it!

Orwell's theory that the masses are controlled not by terror but by debasement is amply supported in NSW today.

Weak Beer

The era of random breath testing and moderation in beer consumption saw new beer slogans on the billboards, "The time is right for a Tooheys Lite" and "You can stay with Tooths LA". This latter slogan can hardly be called responsible advertising since it seems to mean staying in the hotel and getting just as drunk on LA as you would have been on full strength beer had you not stayed.

All breweries have discovered that the best way to sell beer is with copious

doses of good old Aussie mateship. Beer becomes a nationalistic symbol of communication between men who may otherwise be inarticulate. "Shake hands with a Cold Gold" promotes mateship, equality among men and even includes hints of Aussie taboos of men not touching each other or expressing their feelings openly. Drinking substitutes for a whole range of more compassionate behaviour.

When You Win The Lottery

NSW has earned its reputation as the gambling state with the TAB, footy TAB, pools, lotto, poker machines, state lotteries and instant lotteries. The state government has even discovered advertising and tells the masses not "if" but "when you win the lottery". They even promised "be somebody – buy a lottery ticket today". The total turnowever is mind boggling and stands as the most brilliant pice of right wing Labor party thinking where money is siphoned off the poor and back into the State coffers. And what's more (unlike taxation) the poor give willingly because they perceive (and rather correctly I believe) that the best chance of lifting oneself up is to win at gambling. Inequalities must of course be maintained and blamed on the poor for this system to continue indefinitely.

Gambling is addictive for those who organise it and are dependent on its revenue, for example our treasury, the club industry and the racing industry. Whenever gamblers start to snap out of their passive and docile state a big fix of advertising is needed to promise gamblers they will soon be winners.

Newspapers – Prolefeed Is Now In Colour

A recent Australia wide phenomenon is the colour preprint wrapped around our metropolitan newspapers. Coloured front pages have featured events and people of mass market appeal. We've had horse racing, football heroes, the Australia II yacht, Dame Joan, Torvill and Dean, Charles and Di, Boy George and Robert de Castella (known affectionately in the media as Deek).

The assistant manager at Herald Gravure in Victoria has explained "colour in newspapers in this country is at an all-time high and the opportunities are hardly limited". His jargon word opportunities means that the "special colour edition" and the "lift off souvenir" are not produced to satisfy customer demand but are yet another vehicle for mass propaganda to associate normal, healthy people with dubious products such as alcohol and tobacco. This week's product is "New Cambridge 30's – because you want a new deal". Angled photography makes the name look big and the health warning look small.

The masses remain oblivious that the higher classes (especially men) have virtually abandoned smoking.

The Bunfight Over Junk Food

In an age of plenty the masses are fed poor quality junk food by large corporations.

Australian dietary guidelines were published in 1979 and very briefly they said less fat, less sugar, less salt, more bread and cereals, more vegetables and fruit and to eat a variety of foods. *Choice* magazine (April 1984) found that

most takeaway foods had high kilojoules, high fat, high salt and lacked dietary fibre.

It's amazing that large companies can sell food that is not nutritionally balanced and below the standard of local takeaways, but the industry claims that fast food is as nutritional as home cooked meals which are often not nutritionally balanced either. It claims that consumers want meals which are high in kilojoules, salt and fat. Ralph Nader when visiting Australia last year explained that the hallowed American hot dog now had 29 percent fat, double the 1930 figure. Nader always asks if this consumer demand exists for more salt, more colouring etc then why don't manufacturers promote it that way and say "ours is the most juicy, greasy hot dog you can buy?".

Without extensive advertising to build the product image, the fast food chains could not be sustained. Speaking at an advertising seminar last October a creative director put it neatly, "People consume the advertising more than they consume the product, for example, MacDonalds. Its success is due to people accepting the advertising, the philosophy, rather than loving the hamburgers".

Working Class Heroes

Australia has its own breed of working class hero — the swaggering, nonchalant type who makes jokes and can laugh at his own mistakes. Ockerism is typified by Paul Hogan, the poor boy made good, who has not forgotten his working class roots. He made Winfield the top selling brand and has gone on to push Fosters beer overseas, and holidays for Ansett locally.

"Anyhow" is Winfield's magic word. It's the word to say when all those little things have gone wrong. It's a synonym for the Australian expression "she'll be right", and generally means a fatalistic but slightly optimistic outlook on life. It appeals to people on low incomes, high mortgages with bleak prospects etc. "Anyhow" also includes a fatalistic reassurance from Winfield that life is too short to worry about smoking related diseases.

The models seen in Peter Jackson advertisements are nice, neatly groomed folk who look like they stepped out of a department store colour catalogue. They function as a role model for working class aspirations and the slogan, "I'm for Peter Jackson" has converted this image into the most popular 30's in Australia.

Hawke, our most popular prime minister ever, has been groomed by his publicity machine as a hero for the masses with his well timed appearances at everything from gala nights, football grand finals and the Anzac Day March.

Working class heroes in this country are creations of the media machine.

Advertising and the English Language

The industry word for outlandish claims which cannot be substantiated is "puffery" and the bigger the whopper the easier it is to bypass the code of ethics since any normal person can be expected to detect such a lie even if it is repeated continually.

The ACA complained that a Dunhill advertisement contained the unsubstantiated statement: "Internationally acknowledged to be the finest cigarette

in the world". This complaint was rejected. The ASC claimed the statement was a "product positioning statement" and that words such as "finest" are "used in the market place in such a way that they do not have the precise meaning attributed to them".

In 1946 Orwell wrote, "the English language becomes ugly and inaccurate because our thoughts are foolish, but the slovenliness of our language makes it easier for us to have foolish thoughts" and, 'this invasion of one's mind by ready-made phrases can only be prevented if one is constantly on guard against them, and every such phrase anaesthetises a portion of one's brain".

Creative Advertising Debases Our Language

Advertising wants us to live in a world where "love" is a bra (or a brand of pet food if you can't spell), where "mum" is a deodorant and where "freedom" is a brand of furniture. The "simple pleasures of life" are addictive drugs, the "truth" is a tabloid scandal sheet and nobody feels "glad" anymore because that's a brand of plastic.

For women, advertising has reinforced the unattainable stereotypes of the glamour girl and the perfect mother. Mother is no longer the sharing, caring, nurturing parent but is regarded as the nucleus of the consuming chain whose task is the early implantation of consumer habits.

Women's fears about their bodies are exploited by the invention of problems and associated products. Problem skin, underarm hair and vaginal odour have just been joined by a new problem called "panty freshness".

Advertising stresses men when they try to live up to magazine stereotypes for example the executive-playboy type, who according to advertisers has expensive tastes in cars, alcohol and hi-fi, makes frequent plane trips and is usually a smoker.

All lifestyle advertising places undue stress on the unemployed and under-privileged who can never achieve the lifestyle without first adding to the burglary statistics. It's no wonder that an alternative unemployed subculture is emerging.

The absurdities of advertising use up a great deal of emotional energy in our community. Manipulative advertising increases the feelings of worthlessness amongst the working class and disadvantaged groups and prevents many common people from confronting serious community issues. Pollution of our waterways, destruction of our farmlands and forests and threatened extinction of our remaining plants and animals could receive local public attention but are defined as government problems.

A Plea For Decency

Orwell was more concerned with decency than dogma. With his invention of INGSOC he was objecting to socialism perverted by intellectuals who provided their own dogmatic interpretation of reality. His plea is on behalf of ordinary people to be free of tyranny and yet to be able to exist at a reasonable standard of living.

There is little decency in advertising today. Concepts of manipulation are disguised with terms such as market segmentation, consumer response

and product positioning. Products claiming to enhance their owners' individuality sell by the millions to create mass conformity. Products that make people sick are said to be fresh and mild.

Advertising that contains no product information but relies instead on emotional invitations for people to recognise themselves in relation to the product has no place in a free society.

Down With Big Brother

Everyone thinks of Big Brother as the government and neglects the private sector. Orwell had the government controlling the middle class, but in our society private corporations that have sufficient power to influence thought patterns are passing their propaganda to the working class.

Totalitarianism in the advertising industry is the blind acceptance of its own mythology — the concepts that advertising is an integral part of our economic system and that only other individuals are affected.

If the government runs a health campaign, this is seen as paternal and authoritarian, but if unscrupulous private enterprise runs a campaign to encourage people to harm themselves that's called freedom to advertise. Freedom of choice has come to mean corporate disinformation and the rights of consumers to honest information are ignored.

The forces of advertising work in the opposing direction to conservation, environmental protection, the feminist movement and human dignity generally. Self regulation by the advertising industry has been shown to be unworkable for advertising slogans, and indefinable for emotion-laden visual material. The voluntary codes should be scrapped since self regulation has been shown to be a self protection mechanism. We must recognise that advertising is a powerful social force and that it should be used in an educative and socially responsible manner. The advertising industry has not used its power with honesty and decency and its freedom to act should therefore be curtailed.

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About B.U.G.A. U.P.

B.U.G.A. U.P. is not a group and it has no members.   It is merely a concept to which many people subscribe.   This paper has been written by one activist who is concerned about the truth in advertising and it's not claimed that this is the viewpoint of the movement as a whole.   This paper is not copyright and may be reproduced freely for educational purposes.

Correspondence: Box 78, Wentworth Building, Sydney University, NSW, 2006.

Mail Orders: Box 80, Strawberry Hills, 2012.
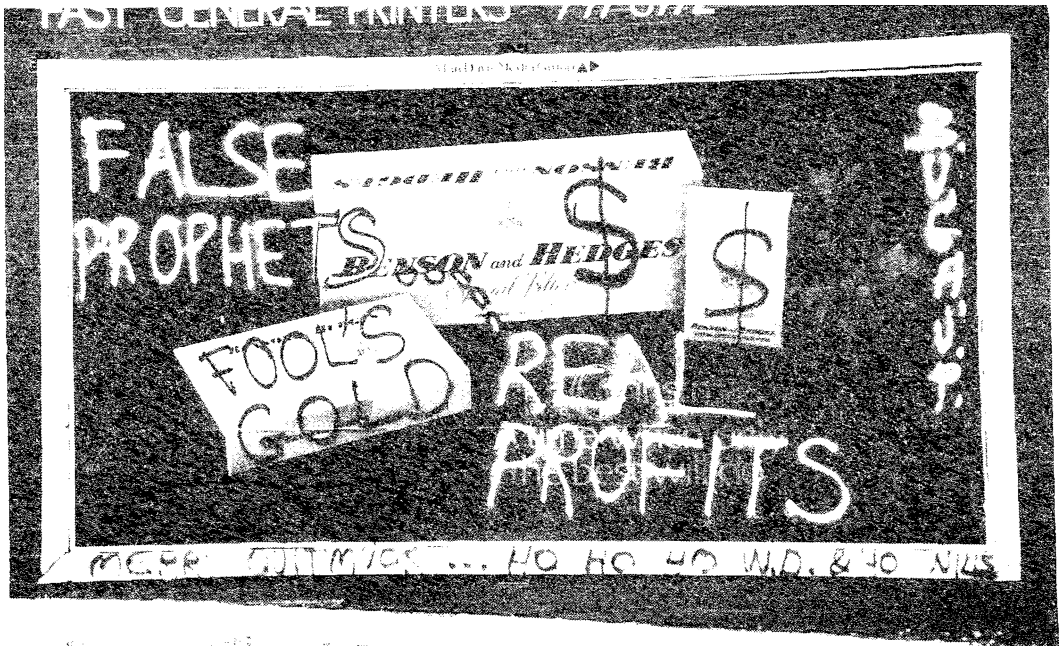
THE MANAGEMENT OF "DRUG" DEPENDENCE

David Vaile

1. Introduction

This paper is about drug dependence and addiction, but not to the usual "drugs of addiction" (such as heroin and morphine) which most people would think of first. I am more interested in the strange way that in this "modern" world, a lot of substances not thought of as "drugs of addiction" are consumed at an incredible rate. The people taking them seem to be "dependent" on them, in the sense that they, or someone who *controls* their consumption habits, regard stopping the habit as unthinkable. In the end this leads to people being pacified, isolated and depressed.

To start with, we'll look at how the focus of "addictiveness" or "dependence" has changed, from first being on the *user*, then moving to the *drug*, then to both (that is, the "weak" individual meets the "risky" drug) and more recently, back to the user and his/her situation. On the way I want to point out the "Classical model" of addiction, focussing on narcotic drugs, and how this has influenced modern drug laws and also the medical use of drugs.

Some people are unwilling to recognise that there are heaps of people dependent on non-narcotics, because of a popular feeling that "those other things aren't *real* drugs". With this in mind, we will see that there are effects usually associated with addiction or dependence (such as "withdrawal" and "tolerance" effects) which can be observed in the heavy use of some "everyday" things. Some of these are medical drugs, and others are perhaps not usually thought of as "drugs" at all. In other words, you can be "hooked" on them. This line of inquiry will encourage a look at how much these "drugs" *are* used, what influence they have on tying people to the judgement of the state, and how useful such habits are for social control.

When we hear talk of "drug abuse" and "drug addiction" in the media and from the courts and the politicians, the instant assumption is that we all know what it is; we all know it's bad; and we'd all like to reduce the so-called "drug problem". What I'm getting to is that, far from eradicating drug dependence and drug addiction, the response of first the medical, and then the legal establishments, amount to the actual management and promotion of a whole range of drug habits. At the same time we see the "dependent" nature of consuming these things, taking these "drugs", being played down or denied, especially in advertisements.

2. Changing Meanings of "Addiction"

Anyway, to begin, let's look at the meanings which have been given to the word "addiction". In Latin, "to addict" meant to enslave yourself, for some reason, to another person. From the entry of this word into English until the mid-1800's, it had a similar sort of meaning; to enslave yourself, or give yourself up more or less voluntarily to some consuming passion. For instance, when

used to refer to alcohol, it was assumed that the alcoholic was drinking because he or she had *wanted* to drink and that the addiction was something to do with the user and his or her life.

A change, most obvious in America under the influence of the Temperance Movement and Dr Benjamin Rush, occurred by the 1850's. There was now a vision of the drug, "the demon drink", as the controlling factor in the drunkard's drinking habits. Behind this trend to focus on the drug were numerous members of the medical profession especially in the American Medical Association, whose world view led them to look for behaviour or symptoms *beyond* the control of the will. It is interesting to discover by the way, that by the Prohibition in the 1920's, the Temperance Movement and the political movement known as "the Progressives" had moved on from this drug-centred idea of Alcoholism. Their later approach was adopted by Alcoholics Anonymous, and it came to be known as the "Psychological Disease Theory of Alcoholism". This is the idea that you don't get an addiction until you put together a "risky" drug and an individual with a psychological "weakness".

However, in the period 1880-1920, the Classical model of addiction transferred its attention from alcohol to the "narcotics". † This is in a sense the approach adopted by the law and a large proportion of the medical profession. The drug is seen as being *in itself* completely overpowering. This so-called "true" addiction was characterised by "physical tolerance" (the need for increasing doses) and physical withdrawal symptoms when you stop the habit. Supposedly this was different from mere "psychological" addiction or "habituation", a purely "mental" problem.

Recently though, the Australian and New Zealand College of Psychiatrists told the South Australian *Royal Commission into the Non-Medical Use of Drugs* that they found it very difficult, as psychiatrists, to come up with any clear definition of dependence as opposed to "habituation". (For the rest of this paper, I will use "dependence" for both, since "addiction" is such a loaded term. I won't try to define it beyond saying that you "depend" on some substance if giving it up seems either totally impossible or very dangerous and painful.)

By 1900 "narcotics" had become the target of a propaganda campaign against the opiates and their users, a campaign which exaggerated both the extent and the severity of the problem. Behind it were the FBN and the AMA. They established themselves as the people who decided the propriety of the drug consumption habits of the U.S.A., and later the rest of the Western World. They were able to do this because nobody in other countries such as Britain or Australia, were really all that concerned about it at the time. In fact, the British had trouble seeing past the fortune they were making from their opium and

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† "Narcotics" originally meant opiates such as opium, morphine and heroin, but, under the influence of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics in the U.S.A. it mysteriously spread out and came to mean "any illicit drug".

marijuana plantations in India, "the Jewel of the Empire". Eventually, under the influence of the reforming zeal of the Americans (especially after the formation of the UN) most countries followed their lead in adopting the opiates as the classical drugs of addiction, "always and in all individuals causing dependence". †

By 1965, however, the World Health Organisation had to admit that "addiction" was being misused to describe any misuse of drugs outside medical practise. Probably influential in this cautious approach was the "Psychological Disease" theory of AA, which shifted attention a little to the user's weakness. The modern welfare state tends to follow this approach, while still treating the user as a patient in a client-professional relationship.

What is this leading to? Firstly, the most recent approach is a return to the original concept: the emphasis is less on the drug, or even the weakness or deficiency in the individual, and more on the dependence as a response to something in the situation of the drug user (a choice, of sorts). To me this makes sense. But secondly, the "classical", "narcotic" model is what we find used in the world at large: in the law, in the media, in a lot of medical practise. This is significant because the legal and medical industries are very reluctant to recognise dependence on things other than the narcotics, and perhaps alcohol.

3. Result: Arbitrary Classification –

Anyway, what was the result of this campaign to inflate the narcotic menace? Drugs became subject to a lot of laws. In theory there are three categories. The first is illegal substances, which nobody is allowed to prescribe or take legally, except in rare cases. These come under the impartial control of the Narcotics Bureaux and Police Drug Squads of the world, creating the conditions for corruption and the mechanism for victimisation of minority groups, such as black people.

The second category is regulated by the medical profession and are called pharmaceutical or prescription drugs. Third is that group of things which are not recognised as very dangerous or liable to addiction, which you can buy "Over The Counter" (OTC), from beer to aspirin to coffee. Even though this legal distinction exists, if someone is dependent on a drug-like substance and is keen to consume it, the category it is in is not that important: they can still get it. What varies is the price: illegal drugs are available on the global blackmarkets at exhorbitant prices; prescription drugs are very cheap to the user, courtesy of state subsidy; and over the counter substances are in between, often subject to heavy state taxes.

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† This ignores the experience of people who may take massive doses of them in hospitals for traumatic injury, but walk out without a second thought — though dependence can easily occur, it is not universal.

4. When Is A Drug Not A Drug? —

The Classical model of addiction leads to the misconception that some drugs (the illegal ones) are addictive, and the rest are obviously not. My point is that many people are dependent on one or more of these so-called "non-drugs".

* Take Vitamins. *Choice* magazine warns that Vitamin B6 can lead to dependence. A very simple vicious circle could spring up if this is true: image some-one believing they "need" B6, therefore taking a large dose for a while. When they stop there may be an unspecific but nasty withdrawal reaction, perhaps not too violent, but enough to convince our health fiend that they *were* right, they *did* need B6 in the first place. This could easily lead to more severe abuse and dependence. In Australia there are virtually no restrictions on Vitamins, and you may have noticed how heavily they are promoted as a cure for stress, tension, fatigue, inability to cope and other side effects of urban-industrial society.

* Another thing not commonly classified as addictive is *sugar*. As is well known, it is used a lot in processed food. † Abuse of sugar stimulates the over-secretion of the hormone Insulin, which lets you use the sugar taken directly into the bloodstream from the gut. An excess of Insulin quickly flushes the sugar through your system, leaving you with a low level of sugar in the blood. This is called "hypoglycaemia", and is linked with lethargy, depression and irritability. It occurs 2 to 4 hours after a good "hit" of refined sugar. The opposite, high blood sugar, happens about 30 minutes after consuming sugar and you can tell it by excitement, elation and physical restlessness.††This is an example of a typical dependence-creating cycle: over-use (of sugar) then a "high" as it swamps the system, then a "low", which can most easily be cured by another "fix". Perhaps this process may be becoming more widely understood: Australian sugar consumption declined last year for the first time in eighty years.†††

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† Perhaps less well-known is the historical fact that sugar was not introduced into the European diet until the late Middle Ages. There was a lot of opposition to its use as a food by a group (labelled "witches") who were probably women practising the ancient Wicca nature-religion.

†† Anyone who has looked after some kids who have had a lot of sweets for lunch probably knows the "hyperactive" burst followed by the cranky after-noon.

††† Speaking of the past, the symptoms of hypoglycaemia (low energy and apathy) were once attributed to "neurasthenia", an all-purpose scientific-sounding word meaning "lack of vitality". In 1927 there were many suggested cures for this non-disease: bromides, arsenic, Indian hemp, caffeine, cocaine and ergot. The use of these drugs is likely to lead to dependency or toxic symptoms. It appears as an example of a medical process likely to lead people (especially recalitrant women — "neurasthenia" was most often found in the eldest daughter of a family) becoming addicted to the treatment chosen by

* Another popularly unacknowledged drug is *caffeine*, found in coffee, tea, soft drinks, sweets, chocolate and many "●TC" pharmaceuticals such as migraine headache painkillers. Many people realise they crave coffee or chocolate, but few people know that physical withdrawal (in this case headaches) occurs with caffeine after as little as two days' heavy use. (This effect can be reproduced in 70% of "normal" people.) One nasty implication is that if you have a long, bad migraine and take a fair few "migraine tablets" (each with say 30 to 60mg of caffeine) over a 24 to 48-hr period, then you are likely to end up with a caffeine withdrawal headache when you stop! The habit can be established on as little as one or two strong cups of coffee per day, and there are a massive number of people who are hooked. What is worse, caffeine over-stimulates the Insulin response, which encourages hypoglycaemia, which may lead to the use of *more* coffee, chocolate or sugar to compensate for the "lack of energy". A new cycle begins!

* More accepted as a potential drug of addiction is nicotine, in cigarettes, tobacco and snuff. Quitting smoking involves withdrawal symptoms including insomnia, headaches, nausea, irritability and bowel disturbances. In addition to these is a further factor reinforcing dependence: the immune system is suppressed by nicotine, an effect masked by the antibiotic aspects of the nicotine's action. Thus, when giving up the weed, a lot of people get lung and skin infections, because their immune system is in bad nick, and the poison (nicotine) which has been keeping the bugs under control is suddenly gone. Perhaps this is why "quitting" is such agony. Despite these obvious indications of drug dependence, cigarettes are widely available, and are a major source of tax moneys for the state. This is the big connection, "the Smoke Ring", and it helps explain the mysterious reluctance of governments to suppress these proven health hazards.

In 1983 as a partial response the NSW government set up the QUIT Centre at Sydney Hospital and ran a series of associated media campaigns, "Quit for Life". However, despite the fact that workers at the centre had developed a very effective variety of programs to help people cope with tobacco withdrawal (from self-hypnosis to aversion therapy), it was effectively dismantled in January 1984, while the media campaigns continued. Even with the fragmented re-appearance of QUIT centres, this was a blow to fostering the techniques useful in withdrawing; involving as it did, the disbanding of the pioneering, most

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their state-subsidised and regulated medical advisor. The original problem (neurasthenia) might be related to external factors, (child abuse?), or to abuse of some drug-like substance (sugar, leading to hypoglycaemia?). The side effects and signs of this earlier problem are incorrectly diagnosed, so the original abuse (of sugar? of the older daughter?) continues. To compensate for the side effects, a fairly arbitrary prescription is made up for other, perhaps dependence prone drugs which are often in the stimulant or tranquillizer classes.

Some might have it that this sort of thing is history, that modern pharmacological practise is more precise and careful now. Well, look at the use of Serepax to "treat" Valium dependence!

experienced team — at that time unique in the world. I would speculate that the media campaign is politically useful, though *practically* ineffective as an aid to confronting withdrawal, the reality of addiction. It helps the image of the government while appearing to help the public, and so it survives the Razor Gangs. The Centre itself did draw attention to the reality of withdrawal symptoms and thus the addictive nature of the drug, and so was a potential "political" embarrassment to those who rely on tobacco tax revenue.

5. When Is A Drug "Safe"?

* The second last type of drug in our brief survey is the family of so-called "Minor Tranquillisers", the benzodiazepines, which includes Valium (diazepam) and Serepax (oxazepam). They have been linked to withdrawal effects since at least 1961, and the phenomenon of physical tolerance was reported to me by a senior psychiatric nurse who needed 60 mg of diazepam/Valium — 10 times the normal dose — to produce any effect. Therefore it would seem pretty straightforward to say they can lead to dependence. The drug companies have consistently promoted their use as "safe"; and this is true to the extent that it is very hard to kill yourself with them. †

But there has also been a sophisticated attempt to mute criticism of the drugs and play down their association with tolerance, withdrawal and dependence effects. As an example of their attempt to mute criticism I recall the seminar on "How drugs are sold to Doctors" which I attended. My attempts to raise an issue about an advertisement for Valium in *MIMS* (a doctor's quick reference guide) were deflected with the observation by the doctor giving the seminar that the man sitting beside me, a typical be-suited and balding corporate stooge, was a representative of Roche, and so no comment would be made on Valium as it was a Roche product! The medical industry's response to the recent recognition, 15 years late, that some of the benzodiazepines are "addictive" is a response following a familiar pattern. A new and supposedly "non-addictive" benzodiazepine, Serepax (or oxazepam) has replaced the old, Valium. Total prescribing and usage rates of the *family* of benzodiazepines remain the same, bringing about the creation of a new, smoothly managed population of people, especially married women, dependent on the alternative.

This is a distinctive strategy in the maintenance and "management" of addiction: not recognising the addictive potential of a drug in a situation until there is a massive problem and lots of addicts.

One good example of this is the ways opiate (morphine etc.) dependence has been treated in the past. In 1885 the "cure" was cocaine, today America's favourite debilitating illegal drug. In Australia pre-1930's codeine (another opiate) was prescribed, on the assumption that it wasn't addictive. In the 1960's and 1970's methadone (physeptone) was the drug of choice to treat morphine and heroin habits. The difference between a heroin habit and a methadone habit was that you could get heroin at a price on the street, while

† This is not true of the barbituates such as Nembudeine, which they replaced.

you could only get methadone from a state-sponsored bureaucracy. † By the 1980's, Valium was *the* drug for treating narcotic withdrawal.

All these were initially promoted as a "cure" for addiction to the nasty narcotic — until the new addicts were counted. This process could be described as the mere *substitution* of dependencies, and stems from the totally drug-centred outlook of most medical authorities; the context of the drug-use remains invisible.

* The other major way of creating and managing dependence was suggested above: taking lots of one drug to *compensate* for the imbalances caused by abuse of another, rather than stopping the original habit. Our last example, the anti-high blood pressure drugs or "anti-hypertensives", constitutes a clear example of this process of escalation. Anti-hypertensives are not addictive in the classical sense, but their regular use creates a functional dependence. ††
The market for this class of pharmaceutical drugs is $80m per year in Australia alone, and there is a massive amount of advertising directed at doctors to influence them to prescribe these drugs at every opportunity. A drug salesman has described to me the way people, under medical advice, become dependent on anti-hypertensives. The initial high blood pressure is often caused by abuse of such vasoconstricting agents as alcohol, caffeine, nicotine, sugar and so on; but rather than try to tackle the person's previous drug habits which are the root of the problem (a lot of time and effort needed), anti-hypertensives are prescribed to compensate for the blood-pressure-raising effects of those other "non-drug" drugs.

The catch is that once you start, a sudden (or even in some cases gradual) withdrawal of the anti-hypertensive, may lead to sudden wild swings of blood pressure, "rebound angina" (heart pain) and even heart attacks. So the doctor is now dependent on the anti-hypertensive to prevent a sudden loss of patient. No wonder the drug companies say that anti-hypertensive treatment is "a life-long undertaking".

6. Summary

In conclusion, what one can perceive is the existence of a vast system of unacknowledged 'legal' dependence, side by side a much smaller network of recognised and illegal addiction. In both realms you have large scale intervention of the state-approved agents in the daily lives of the citizen-users. The

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† The blackmarket heroin is never pure, though.

†† The strange thing is that the patient often doesn't really feel sick before the doctor decides that they need the anti-hypertensive; yet after taking them for a while, quite likely they will feel worse as a result of the "side-effects". This is an extreme case of the doctor using his or her authority to initiate a course of drugs for a "disease" the patient doesn't even suspect that they have.

great extent of the *legal* dependence problem, and its curiously low profile, follows from the archaic "classical model" of narcotic addiction still being in wide use long after its birth in a publicity campaign in the U.S.A. in the 1920's backed by the AMA and the FBN. This is the approach that says label the *drug* "addictive", ignoring the social and physiological reality of the user as an explanation for dependency on the consumption of "drugs".

The outcome of this invisible multitude of drug habits (and associated withdrawal stress) is the *personalization* of social and economic problems, and the further neutralization of "disturbed" minority groups, because these wider problems are "solved" or coped with by individual, dependent drug abuse. Hopefully you can see that this dependence has been selectively managed historically and is still managed on a global scale. But the very fact of this encouragement and regulation is masked because the non-narcotics are still not really widely accepted as "true addiction" material — at least not until there is such a large population of dependent users that they can't be ignored. I'd have to agree with the earlier speaker, that social control is based on the distribution of knowledge, and feelings of powerlessness. Concealed drug dependence is based on both of these things, and serves the cause of social pacification.
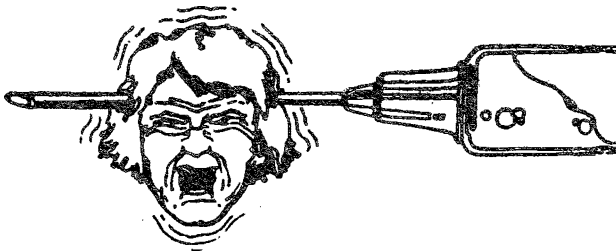
PSYCHIATRY: THE CONFUSED POLITICS OF MENTAL HEALTH

Maurie O'Connor

In 1983, when the military forces of capitalist America invaded Grenada, they "solved" the mental health problems of the island in one swift blow – they bombed the mental hospital.

The Wran government does not have the same resources at its disposal but, judging from recent developments, their objectives may be similar. The ideas that form those objectives of scaling down the institutionalised mental health system are a mixture of desires to reform and liberalise the system and to relieve the government of the cost burden associated with maintaining large scale mental hospitals and services. The result is the apparent collusion of opposing ideologies. The current politics of mental health in this country reflect the nature of the history of psychiatry itself – confused and disturbing.

The aim of this paper is to provide a framework for discussion of psychiatry as it functions in our society and an examination of possible directions for a libertarian response. I am not proposing here to reveal any miraculous libertarian answers. I don't know the right answers, but I do profess to know most of the right questions. I don't wish to prove that psychiatry is a form of social control – that is undeniable – but to look at some aspects of its function as an agent of social control which, hopefully, may lead us further than a mere polemic against its uses and abuses. Consequently, I will also look at radical and liberal responses to traditional psychiatry and their consequences for formulating a libertarian approach. Such an approach should be, not only a critical analysis of mental health philosophy and practice, but also a rationale and methodology for confronting mental illness in a libertarian setting.

The history of psychiatry is sordid and disturbing, to say the least, and, surprisingly enough, is often referred to by modern psychiatrists to demonstrate the enlightened nature of contemporary treatment. Whether the continued use of Electro-Convulsive Therapy (E.C.T.), psycho-surgery and major tranquillizing drugs can be considered enlightened or merely refined is arguable. Admittedly, such procedures as insulin therapy, hot and cold water treatments and radical psycho-surgery have been abandoned, but very little evidence exists to suggest that most modern treatments are in any way successful or therapeutic.

The development of psychiatry as a service industry to the state is linked in our society to the growth of specialisation of function and to the growth of the cult of the expert. Psychiatrists have become an integral part of the welfare state. Modern capitalism and its resultant social institutions have all but broken down traditional social supports and communal ideology and has ordained psychiatry a role as arbiter of morality and enforcer and guardian of social control. But use of their value-laden labels of diagnosis, psychiatrists can identify and deal with individuals that the state, through legal or other mechanisms, cannot handle effectively. When the psychiatrists categorize

individuals with such labels as sociopath, psychopath or psychotic, we, as a society, have been conditioned into thinking that, because of their particular form of social deviancy, we can relieve outselves of any collective social responsibility for their condition and welfare and hand them over to the experts and their mental institutions.

The success of psychiatry is often measured by its ability to fit the individual into society; by facilitating his conformity without question or dissent, or by placating those discontented with their lot and channelling that discontent into feelings of personal inadequacy that can then be treated by drugs or individual "alternative" therapy. In the extreme, psychiatry acts to discredit or control political dissent. About one fifth of all Soviet dissidents have been diagnosed as mentally ill. In Western societies, the accusation of mental illness has been effectively used as a means of discrediting dissidents. Following the race riots of the late 1960's in the U.S.A., a few prominent psychiatrists suggested that the leaders of the riots may be suffering from organic brain disease which could be treated by psycho-surgery. Nuclear protesters and environmentalists are often characterised as mentally suspect.

Psychiatry, and those who practice it, are inherently conservative and prescribe social norms and values which are heavily class biased and sexist. Mental illness is found more often among poor and working class than among any other section of society. It has often been said that poor people go mad, middle class people have breakdowns and the upper class are merely eccentric. This says as much about the class nature of capitalist society as it does about the class position of most psychiatrists and health administrators. Until recently, homosexuality was actually classified as a mental illness and, even now, heterosexuality is interpreted, not just as a norm, but as an ideal. Beginning with Freud, theories of sexuality in psychiatry have always advanced a stereotype of women as being passive and dependent. Any woman who does not fit the role determined for her can be labelled mentally ill and in need of treatment. The type of treatment a woman receives is generally divided along class lines; upper class women pay vast amounts of money for private psychotherapy or analysis, whereas working class women usually find themselves in mental institutions where drugs and E.C.T. are substituted for more personal treatment.

The whole topic of psychiatry and social control has been, to this date, very well analysed by writers such as Thomas Szasz, Michel Foucault and writers of the British and American Anti-Psychiatry movements. None of these writers have really dealt with sexism in psychiatry in a particularly adequate manner. However, it has been well explored by feminist writers such as Ehrenreich and English, Phyllis Chesler and others. Works such as those mentioned above, which began to appear in the post war period with the publication of Erving Goffman's timely and important work, *Asylums*, have helped propagate a vision of psychiatry as modern capitalism's ultimate weapon of social control. They have been adopted as "the" source material by the Left generally, and used as part of a much wider social critique than the domain of mental health.

The problem is that, from a libertarian perspective, all these writers seemingly

promise a lot but, in reality, deliver very little. However, their importance in the development of our ideas and, as both a critique of treatment and an inspiration to improve forms of treatment, cannot, and should not, in any way be underrated. Underlying the writings of all these prophets we will find a political dead end.

Individual mental health is related to the quality of the social and economic milieu in which the person exists and, consequently, all critiques of psychiatry and mental health treatment should also be a blueprint for social action. All of these writings are inherently conservative, some (such as Szasz) more than others. All of them view the nature of mental illness from a sociological standpoint. That is to say, they see mental illness as being socially determined.

This raises a question which has become the source of much debate and confusion: Is mental illness really an illness in the medical sense? Let's look at the problem another way. If, at all, these authors address the question of the aetiology of physical illness, then they have unanimously followed the medical model and determine it to have a biological foundation. For instance, Szasz draws a sharp distinction between the natural scientific, value-free language of physical medicine and the socially and politically loaded language of psychiatry. He believes that in physical illnesses, the notion of a bodily symptom is tied to an anatomical and genetic context, as distinct from the social or ethical context which informs psychiatric judgements. Laing's track-mate, Cooper, says that the method of natural science cannot be applied to the study of human behaviour but claims that the methodology of psychiatry should still be scientifically based.

I agree with their assessment that the subjective valuations of psychiatry function as a form of covert and malignant social control, but people like Cooper are surely beating their heads against a psychiatric ward door when they try to find a factual, objective basis for psychopathology. Nearly all of those involved in the anti-psychiatry and radical psychiatry movements have maintained the dichotomy between mind and body. None of their criticisms of the concept of mental illness have ever been applied to the concept of physical illness. What is needed for a collective and libertarian approach is a starting point which makes no distinction between the concepts of mental and physical illness. One which sees the illness itself, as well as its treatment, and questions of health as social constructions.

All illness has a social nature. Whether physical or mental, all illness is, in essence deviancy. That is, the diagnosis of illness presupposes some social norm in our level of functioning, some state of well-being which is the ideal. We have social expectations about how we should function, both physically and mentally. For instance, it was once considered a fact of life among working class people that children would lose their teeth and eventually require dentures. However, dental caries is now considered a disease of all classes and can be treated so that everyone expects to keep their teeth and is socially disadvanted if they do not.

In our times concepts of disease and illness have become so technical that they are often isolated from any normal social background. This is so to the

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extent that, if an illness does not have a microbiological or chemical cause, or cannot be readily treated by surgery or drugs, then it is not really considered an illness at all. Such is often the case with mental illness in our society so that physicians merely prescribe large and continuing doses of Serepax and hope that the person will go away. What we need is to adopt a common structure of valuation and explanation of all disorders of the body. Such a theory would overcome many of the difficulties we now have with psychiatry and psycho-pathology and overcome the eccentricity of 19th and 20th century medicine in regarding illnesses as peculiar states of the body only. Concepts of such a unitary perspective are to be found in Eastern medicine or in "primitive" and animistic societies, but usually find their expression in Western medicine only in alternative forms of treatment.

Because of the above dichotomy in conceptualising mental and physical illness, we find that psychiatry and the new criticis are left with two alter-natives; either, to see psychological and emotional disorders as biological states of the brain tissues, genes, etc., or, to deny that disorders of the psyche are illnesses at all. Therefore, we should regard all concepts of illness as both expressions of social value judgements (contrasting a person's condition with accepted norms) and attempts at explanations, with a view to controlling or rectifying the devalued condition.

The anti-psychiatrists have certainly got it right by regarding psychiatric categories as value judgements and mental illness as deviancy, but they should apply the same critique to the whole range of medicine. Mental illness should be conceptualized in the same manner as any of the physical illnesses, such as heart disease or cancer. If we adopt such an approach, we can start to under-stand mental illness and formulate a libertarian response to it. Previously, our prophets on the subject have led us into adopting either a technicalizing approach or one which involves medicalisation of moral values. Instead, we should recognise that all medicine, and especially preventive medicine, involves social explanations and social measures so that any section in the field of medi-cine is political. Any libertarian approach to mental illness has got to be con-cerned with a preventive role. Such a role for the treatment of mental illness has been largely ignored in the past, mainly because it naturally implies a politi-cal stance and one which, I believe, would be incompatible with most capitalist governments. Virtually all the great advances in health and control of disease have been brought about by social and political changes. The provision of adequate water supplies and sewerage systems have been more significant in medical terms than the development of heart transplant techniques. Preven-tive measures in mental illness are all about social and political changes.

Psychiatry, today, is a fairly unpopular domain for people of all political persuasions. The well deserved critiques by Szasz, Goffman and Laing, have, however, laid the groundwork for the right-wing laissez-faire political dragons who breathe monetarist flames. These politicians are now in a publicly accep-table position of drastically reducing allocations for public psychiatric services while, at the same time, giving lavish budget allocations for the military and po-

lice. Most of the people on the left who have taken their stance from the anti-psychiatrists and others now find themselves in an invidious position. While agreeing with the arguments against the hypocrisies and excesses of institutionalized psychiatry, they can only react with alarm at the "dumping" of people into a largely unsupportive and uncaring society. Reactionary can only describe the response so far, to the scenario that sees the closure of intensive psychiatric units with the victims of mental illness thrown back onto the streets with the occasional shot of tranquillizer to reassure the public that something medical is still happening. Such a scenario belies the new priorities of our bureaucratic and militarised capitalism. The individualist doctrines of Szasz accord well with the conservative economic wisdom of Milton Friedman and the new political ascendancy of pro-capitalist "libertarianism". Such doctrines have less to do with collective social responses to mental illness and much more to do with the glorification of indifference.

As indicated above, one of the popular stances for the left has been to virtually deny the existence of mental illness. There is a view, which is particularly popular among Marxists that, if you change society, you will eradicate mental illness. "Come the revolution, mate, and there will be no more crazies". This view is blatantly wrong. It denies the very nature of the human psyche and the nature of wo/man as a social being. However, it should also be stressed that the best preventive measures are the maintenance of an equitable, just and collectively supportive society. To suggest that factors like stress and anxiety would disappear in such a society is not only idealist, but takes into account of the manifestations of *any* illness.

Many radicals, then, have been forced to adopt a civil-libertarian stance that involves a constant reforming opposition to the major structures of authority and decision in psychiatry. This stance, while being very honourable, is also negative. In N.S.W. such a stance has recently found expression in the new Mental Health Act and the Richmond Report. The civil libertarian reforms contained in these documents, however, harmonize well with the cost saving measures of the Wran government in relation to public health. Indeed, anything in the Richmond Report that does not, looks like being forgotten or altered anyway.

The only way we, as Anarchists, can deal with mental illness is to develop a therapeutic consciousness that embodies a unitary concept of illness and a collective responsibility for its treatment. Such a consciousness involves the construction of mutually supportive social systems. Indeed, supportive systems for the therapeutic treatment of mental illness can have greater significance for an application to society, in general. Kropotkin recognised this fact when he discussed the forerunner of the modern therapeutic community concept which then operated, and still does, in the Belgian farming village of Geel. In this village, the farmers and townspeople took mental patients into their homes where they lived and worked in an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding.

Kropotkin, in a somewhat idealised fashion, saw this as a working example of mutual aid. He had suspicions about the state financed welfare system and

rightly assumed that it would ultimately relieve all members of society of their obligations towards each other. His initiatives for voluntary collective action for the treatment of mental illness are as valid today as they were in his day. Indeed, in reference to the community at Geel, Sedgewick says: "Kropotkin's astuteness in singling out this experiment as the most complete available embodiment of a liberated, non-segregative solution to the housing and treatment of the mentally disturbed is all the more extraordinary because, since the time of his own citation of its importance, none of the theoretic or publicists of 'radical psychiatry', 'alternative psychiatry' or 'anti-psychiatry' has even mentioned it."

Likewise, although it has never really been acknowledged, the concepts of the modern therapeutic community have their real roots in anarchist theory. A community which involves the flattening of the hierarchy pyramid, non-authoritarian organisation and decision making, free communications, and responsible social development of the individual is indeed anarchistic. However, if these concepts were implemented on a wider scale than they have been hitherto in therapeutic communities, then we would necessarily be involved in a social revolution.
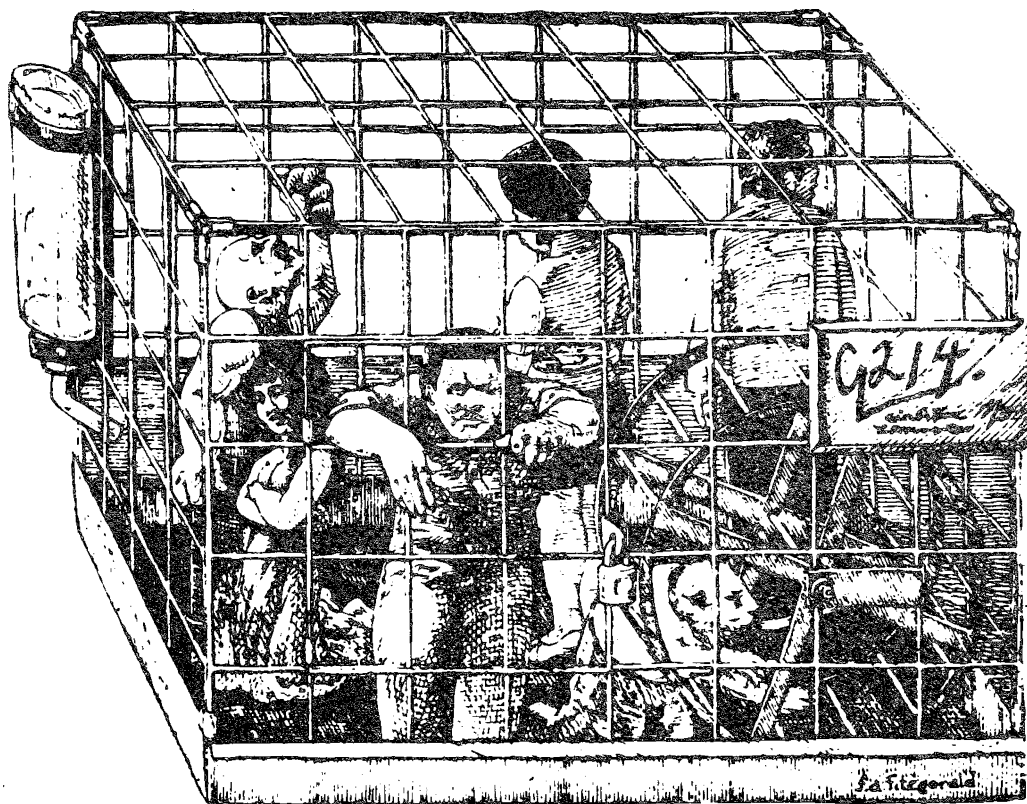
TALK ON TALK-BACK RADIO

John Tebbutt   *

The Australian airwaves have always been a site of struggle. Radio was the first of the electronic media. Before World War 2 there were two kinds of domestic stations . . . A and B. These were their official government designations.

They followed different paths in their struggle for Australians. The A stations received their funds through license fees collected from owners of radio receivers. They were the ones that wore dinner suits while announcing. They upheld and projected the values of the British Empire . . . all that was grand and stately; intellectual and conservative, in that they tried to conserve the Empire. The B stations threw their lot in with the dazzling department stores and the manufacturers of consumer goods. They were often the brash go-getters . . . at the contemporary forefront of the modern, the new, the American. They were the progressive; they were prepared to move, to change, and so they adapted to our continent and adopted our culture.

These B stations have dominated the struggle.

Even those characters we assumed are from thorough Australian stock, Dad and Dave, were the derivative of an American hill billy duo. They were sponsored by Wrigley's chewing gum. Chewing gum was perceived then as a dirty American habit (not at all proper for the continent), but that was before it received the stamp of approval from those presented as the true blue bushies. The fact that Dad and Dave are accepted as stereotypes of Australians illustrates the extent of ideological control that the dominant ones have had in the struggle.

This domination was assisted by the narrowing of the kind of radio that could be received by Australian listeners. Originally all radio receivers had short-wave. Many people tuned into the world and two-way sets were very popular. But with the domestication of the airwaves the short-wave component was quickly dropped. Access to a diversity of views was replaced by the material provided by the A and B stations. But more importantly, the information traffic became one way, directed *at* the listener. Dialogue over the airwaves became the domain of the ham operator.

Today the A stations have become the government's Australian Broadcasting Corporation and the B stations have developed into the commercial sector.

And now some would have us believe that dialogue has recommenced within domestic radio. They say talk-back allows the view of the "ordinary person" to be presented and debated in the widest possible public forum. Through the talk between host and caller they would have us believe that the democratization of the airwaves was being achieved.

> TALK-BACK HOST: Oh gee, we're going to be busy tonight. For a start I'm going to introduce three topics to you; namely the U.S. bases in Australia; migrants and equal opportunity, and that will give us all a chance, even those of us who were born here, to talk

about our migrants and do they receive equal opportunity in this
great land of Oz. Then we'll talk about school uniforms . . . The
invitation is open to you . . . we have in this show the democratic
way of listening to those problems of yours and maybe even ans-
wering one or two of them . . .

As you would have noticed, the content of the talk-back is limited by the
host; the parameters are arbitrarily set by the radio stations production team.
But that is only one visible means of limiting discussion.

Let us look at the ringing in. It is presented as if you were ringing up a
relative, but the reality is quite different. There is a process of selection that
begins at the switchboard. The telephonist is expected to sort out the loonies.
The caller's subject is noted and in some cases the name also. These then are
passed on to the producer who again vets the list before giving this information
to the announcer. The ones that survive this process then have the 'right' to
talk.

But it is a right that relies on the goodwill of the host . . .

YOUNG CALLER: Australia shouldn't have any military bases or
foreign troops on its soil.

HOST: Why do you say that sir?

CALLER: Because it proves that Australia isn't being nationally
independent . . . Australia is under a sort of military occuption by
America.

HOST: I see, ah . . . how many people are occupying us?

CALLER: Well . . . I, ah . . . er . . .

HOST: I'm just interested to know how many people you think it
takes to occupy Australia? How many Americans?

CALLER: Well it's not just Americans.

HOST: Well, no, no, no, we'll start with them and then we can add
a few more, you can tell me how many Russians are here (caller
tries to interrupt) . . . how many Americans are occupying Australia?

CALLER: Well, we wouldn't need too many.

HOST: I'm asking you how many sir, you sound knowledgeable.

CALLER: I don't know . . . you could supply the exact figures.

HOST: No I don't know the exact figures but I'd guess less than
500. How many Russians are here?

CALLER: I don't know it'd . . .

HOST: I'd guess at nil, wouldn't you? You're not showing a great
amount of knowledge.

CALLER: And the military occupation of Australia is designed to
force Australia to recognize the oppressive governments of Indonesia
and the Philippines.

HOST: I see . . . ha . . . how so because the American government
isn't very fond of the oppressive governments of Indonesia and the
Philippines. Who do you think then should be governing the Philip-
pines?

CALLER: Well America is governing . . . .

HOST: No, I'm asking you sir . . . who do you think should be governing the Philippines?

CALLER: The Filipino people but they aren't.

HOST: Well . . . you ah don't think President Marcos represents the Filipino people?

CALLER: He represents the CIA and America.

HOST: Oh you're a fool! Go away sir. (Caller cut off.) . . . I mean you can go up to a point. I wear happy people and people who have got their facts wrong, but fools I don't wear all that well.

The hosts not only have the ability to cut off the caller but their microphone has an over-ride effect on the telephone line so that the caller's volume immediately drops any time the host speaks.

There is no resemblance to conversation from the host's position. When they speak they cannot hear anything from the caller. It's not like being on the phone where you can hear immediate affirmation or denial in response to your statements. The response in talk-back is completely controlled.

But it is not only the practitioners and proprieters who would have us believe that talk-back is a democratic way of operating. The view put forward by two Queensland academics, Moss and Higgins, (in their book *Sounds Real*), is that via talk-back listeners can voice views that run counter to those of the dominant ones. They say that on talk-back a citizen can seize the ideological initiative and challenge the conventional wisdom . . . a citizen can subvert the dominant views.

Any specific listening to talk-back operating will show how naive this view is. Talk-back is not a liberation of potentially subversive views from the public but a caller responding to set themes. They have to change the perspective that has been established and do so through bureaucratic and technological barriers. Those who attempt to subvert the conventional wisdom have to operate through compromise. They will approach the host through platitudes, then bring in a view that would counter the dominant ones. You must operate this way or else you risk being banished. But even so the host as the last word.

OLDER CALLER: (Referring to the Battle of the Coral Sea) I feel a sense of gratitude to the Americans.

HOST: Well that was 40 years ago.

CALLER: That's true. They had a different administration under Roosevelt and it seemed to work very well. America's a great country but she's been saddled with a few not too good presidents.

HOST: Well I think that they've got a much better one in Reagan than in Carter.

CALLER: Oh, I thought you might be supporting my idea that he's a bit too aggressive.

HOST: Oh crikey no . . . look . . . you've got to stand up for what you believe to be right.

CALLER: Yeah, but he's wanting the Russians to talk peace and

they were talking for a couple of years and then he goes and makes
that blunder about putting those rockets, those first strike missiles . . .
which are said to be only 5 or 6 minutes flying time from Russia.
HOST: Because they had a similar thing pointing at him. You've
got to defend yourself at all times, you know.
CALLER: Well I . . .
HOST: Anyway, thanks for your call . . .

I've been concentrating on the commercial sector with my comments and
examples. The A.B.C. also uses talk-back and so do some public radio stations.
The A.B.C. often talkback in conjunction with an outside guest. They will be
much more polite in their treatment of callers but still comments are censored
and controlled and debate is restricted to the legitimate parameters of the
establishment.

This controlling effect is talk-back's dominant feature — it is the antithesis
to democratization.

It is interesting to note that a Sydney public radio station, 2-SER, is in-
stalling a talk-back facility. The instigation of this came from the board of
directors, not because they could see the diverse programming possibilities
but because it meant that programmes could be put on a 7 second delay, (a
legal requirement for all talk-back facilities). This will allow programmes to
be monitored before they are broadcast and censored if necessary, (ostensibly
this is to prevent defamation. The practicalities of this facility, ie. who will
push the button, will probably preclude any direct censorship of volunteer
programmes, but it was the control aspect that was most appealing to the
board.).

The introduction of Public Radio into Australia has thrown a new element
into the struggle on Australian airwaves. Because their perspective is often,
but not always, different from the dominant ones they can provide a view of
society that has not developed through commercialism or a desire for European
civility. But this does not alter the nature of the technology they are involved
with. It is still the dictatorial host who leads the listener through an established
gallery of views and opinions. Hopefully in public radio the views allowed will
be more dynamic and the host more facilatory.

Editors Note:
* This session was addressed by Nicola Josephs, Tony Collins and John Tebbutt.
This paper, presented by John Tebbutt, should be read as a statement, the
purpose of which was to initiate discussion amongst participants of the radio
session.

THE ECOLOGY OF FREEDOM: RHETORIC AND SUBSTANCE IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

Drew Hutton

George Orwell is best known around the world for the title of a book he wrote, a title which has become the. foremost symbol for the modern totalitarian state. In fact, over the years since the novel was written, 1984 has become more than merely a symbol of totalitarianism. In the popular consciousness it has become almost a *promise* of what is to come since it is so easy to extrapolate from many features of today's liberal capitalist societies to a totalitarian future. (This is not even to mention the Stalinist and fascist dictatorships which have blighted the history of the last half-century.)

In many ways this is unfortunate because, as well as launching savage attacks on political authoritarianism from a radical human perspective, Orwell also had quite a deal to say about human freedom. Not only did he write about it but he also fought for it. His *Homage to Catalonia* is a chronicle of his involvement in the Spanish Civil War and, in his stay in Barcelona in the heady days of 1936-37, he came into contact with some of the fiercest and most neglected fighters for freedom – the Spanish anarchists. Not that Orwell was an anarchist. His stay in Spain undoubtedly reinforced his rejection of authoritarian leftism more than it converted him to anarchism; however, his radical humanism and his obvious sympathy with libertarian conceptions of freedom have always endeared him to anarchists. It is the conception of freedom with which I wish to deal today – not as Orwell saw it in Spain but as the libertarian impulse in human affairs allied with the lessons anarchists have learned from the past and the concerns people have in the present for a society based on freedom. This conception of freedom has its basis in a social theory best described as social ecology[1] and in the political tradition of anarcho communism.

My first assertion about today's struggle for freedom is that we have to do away with the revolution/reform dualism which has always characterised anarchist politics. This assertion alone will probably draw criticism from some of my anarchist comrades who will feel that such a statement must indicate that I have abandoned my anarcho-communist politics for social-democracy. However, this is not so. The romantic notion of revolution adhered to by many anarchists (and all Marxist-Leninists) throws more heat than light on the project of achieving radical social change and ensures that all self-professed revolutionaries stay on the fringe of political life. This is because the notion of revolution directly implies violent overthrow of a political elite and throwing into the flames of this violent social conflict all established principles and practices. This is something that most people reject either because they believe in the legitimacy of the system of liberal capitalism or they believe that there is sufficient flexibility within its structures to make the course of revolution very problematic indeed. Calls for a revolutionary overthrow of the system are far more likely to mobilise the ruling class than the masses, especially during

times of crisis, and the result is most likely to be severe repression.

Is the only alternative, then, the mild reformism of the ALP or, perhaps, what the English Marxist, Stuart Holland, calls "revolutionary reformism",[2] which is the basic position of the Socialist Left within the ALP? The experiences of the Whitlam and Hawke governments have demonstrated graphically that gaining control of state power through elections guarantees nothing about achieving reform. The ease with which Australian conservatives were able to persuade the electorate that Whitlam and his government were dangerous radicals was matched by the readiness with which ALP leaders like Hayden and Hawke resolved not to make the same mistakes again. The Australian ruling class (which includes its American, British and Japanese components) have spelt out to the ALP that, if they are to have a chance of winning government, then they have to accept certain parameters. This basically means that such policies as getting hold of Arab money to buy back the farm or placing restrictions on U.S. bases are not acceptable. How long Labor stays in power will depend on how enthusiastically it accepts these parameters, works in the interests of the elite and, at the same time, neutralises popular opposition to government policies and demands for a more equitable distribution of social wealth. The Hawke government has accepted this role with a gusto which, I admit, I found surprising. It is managing a restructuring of the Australian economy (in the interests of capital) which even the Fraser government would have found difficult. All this is within the framework of consensus which means that those who are dominant in Australian political and economic life have achieved consensus while the majority of people — including grass-roots members of the Labor Party itself — have no input.

The centrists of the ALP, of course, have a powerful logic on their side. If Labor wants to win government and hang on to it, then it has to move to the middle ground. This lesson underlies the history of the ALP since its inception. The basic tension in the organisation is that there has always existed, within its ranks, a left-wing which believes that there are important issues of principle on which Labor needs to fight — against the vested interests of Australian capitalism if necessary. At present this position is occupied largely by the Socialist Left faction. This faction argues for the double-edged strategy of playing the numbers game inside the Party to enact suitable policies and for throwing its support behind extra-parliamentary struggles like the peace and anti-uranium campaigns in order to place pressure on their colleagues to accept similar positions on these issues. The success the Left has had in getting the ALP to frame certain policies has, however, been undermined by the fundamental problem of needing electoral success. It is this — and not the treachery of leaders like Hawke, Keating and Hayden — which led to the turn-around on uranium mining. They know that an anti-uranium policy is not crucial to keeping the ALP in government. The go-ahead for Roxby Downs, however, was essential for the future of the South Australian ALP. Therefore, once again, principle was sacrificed to electoral opportunism.

Arguments against a Socialist-Left strategy for social change go deeper,

however, than the ALP's inextricable link with the structures of capitalism. The building of a free society is predicated on the undermining of habits of domination and submission, on overcoming the sense of alienation and power-lessness felt by so many people in this society. The ALP stands for *representing* people's interests, not for encouraging people to be self-active. The most valuable function that Labor M.P.'s can perform is as conduits bringing valuable information back to the grass-roots. What usually happens, however, is that M.P.'s visit local branch meetings to give equivocating reports which are little more than rationalisations of caucus policy and grass-roots members do little more than sell lottery tickets.

Of course, it is understandable why people do join the ALP. People who are members of revolutionary groups want pure companions, unequivocal positions and their prejudices constantly confirmed. The price they pay for all this is marginalisation. There is nothing in the history of the last fifteen years since the late sixties to justify the expectation that any of these groups — Marxist, Trotskyist or anarchist — will break out of its isolation and be a strong influence on mainstream society.

Therefore, we need a strategy for social change which avoids the Scylla of marginalisation and the Charybdis of containment within the ALP. A more productive strategy would have two major thrusts. The first of these is the building of alternative communities in both the countryside and the cities. The second is the development of an alternative political culture which inter-acts with and constantly challenges the values of the mainstream culture. This involves radicals working in social movements — not in order to colonise them for one or another vanguard party — but to deepen their analyses, broaden their vision and encourage a radical thrust in their action.

Alternative Communities

With a touch of irony which is its hallmark, the government of my state of Queensland has adopted Leisure in the Age of Technology as the theme for the Expo it is putting on in Brisbane in 1988. Now given that, in Queensland, human domination of nature has achieved a level of barbarism which is wilful and the domination of people by the state has had a level of success which could be called trend-setting, then it is doubtful if the Queensland government's notion of leisure and technology have anything liberatory to offer. Here roads are needlessly built through unique rainforests, historic buildings are torn down in the most provocative manner, a bridge is being planned to entirely span Moreton Bay in order to convert moderately-used Bay islands into Gold Coast-type tourist meccas and the Expo itself will probably destroy the alternative, black and ethnic communities which have developed in the South Brisbane-West End area.

This sort of barbarism is, of course, not unique to Queensland. In fact, capitalism's major contribution to technological development has been to produce a social matrix for it which, far more than at any time in history, has been characterised by domination and alienation. Capitalist technology and social relations produce unbelievable weapons of war as well as wholesale des-

truction of the natural environment. They have given us the factory, the assembly line, the modern bureaucracy, the school and unemployment — all characterised by the related phenomena of domination and alienation. In the area of leisure people can stay in their homes and participate vicariously in the world of American domestic comedy and current affairs shows. Or young people can attend leisure centres where their sense of powerlessness can be momentarily allayed (but ultimately reinforced) by playing video games like the one from Atari which gives the instructions:

> Your plane has developed engine failure and is slowly descending on a city below. By bombing the city, and killing millions of people, you will be able to land safely. Otherwise you will crash. Press the joystick button each time you want a bomb to drop.[3]

As Murray Bookchin says,

> We gravely mistake capitalism's historically destructive role if we fail to see that it subverted a more fundamental dimension of the traditional social ensemble: the integrity of the human community. Once the market relationship — and its reduction of individual relationships to those of buyers and sellers — replaced the extended family, the guild and the highly mutualistic network of consociation; once home and the place of production became separate, even antagonist, arenas, dividing agriculture against craft and craft against factory; finally once town and country were thrown into harsh opposition to each other; then every organic and humanistic refuge from a highly mechanized and rationalized world became colonized . . .[4]

The result was that "Community as such began to disappear" as "Capitalism invaded and undermined areas of social life that none of the great empires of the past could ever penetrate or even hope to absorb".

Of course not even capitalism has been able to destroy human sociability. People still show mutual aid, cooperation and solidarity and attempt to build viable community life. For the most part these practices take place in a non-oppositional way within the framework of a system based on hierarchy, competition and individuation. However, it is this communitarian ethos and not class hatred which will be the main basis for resisting the destructiveness of capitalism.

Paul Shepard, in his book *The Tender Carnivore*, talks about animals (including human animals) requiring "ecological niches", escape from which is not freedom but loss of direction.[5] Given that, for centuries, the state has been encroaching upon and absorbing community life, a process which has reached its apogee under capitalism, then human society has lost its basic "ecological niche". This is not to argue that we should return to the communities of organic, preliterate societies nor to form the inward-looking, conformist, often religiously-based communities one sees in various parts of the country. In the first the term freedom is not even applicable and in the second, personal

autonomy is constantly being abused. The basic unit, then, for a community which serves as an "ecological niche" and in which autonomy is fostered is, what Abrams and McCulloch call the "secular family commune". In these,

> . . . there is an attempt to maintain direct relations, unmediated by reifications, by elaborate ideologies of what the community is about and accounts of how everyone ought to act; there is a more tentative acceptance of organizational forms and codes of behaviour, which are submitted to more critical evaluation and are modified by processes of mutual negotiation in which all participate as friends.[6]

Bookchin basically agrees with this and argues that a free society is an ecological society in which people associate on the basis of affinity of tastes (not on the demands of kin loyalties as in organic, preliterate societies), that a Commune would be composed of many small communes and that these Communes would be networked confederally with "each artistically tailored to the natural surroundings".[7]

These communities would be characterised by direct and many-sided relations between people, mutual aid, an ecological consciousness, self-managed work and appropriate technology. In other words there would be numerous meeting places where people can come together to discuss and debate issues and make decisions; work would be more craft-like than industrial with provision for such things as job rotation; food co-operatives, creches and hospitality houses would be set up; alternative schools would be run by the community and linked to its institutions; soils would be nurtured caringly to foster plant variety; green areas, especially in cities, would be preserved and extended; wastes would be recycled and alternative power sources integrated into community life.[8] A sense of community should even pervade the areas of leisure and ceremony. Street arts, children's circuses, fairs and festivals would be an important part of community life as should, I would argue, ceremonies to honour such occasions as births, deaths, remembrance and renewal.

The building of such communities should not await the revolution – even a libertarian one. There are good reasons for building them now, *within* hierarchical society. If successful action is born of hope not despair, solidarity rather than class hatred and a utopian vision instead of economistic demands, then the building of viable alternative communities is a vital step towards radical social change. They can provide a stable, supportive environment for those engaged in the often anxiety-ridden process of resistance and they provide the best possible crucibles for challenging habits of dominance and submission and reinforcing egalitarian and loving relationships. In the event of an important economic, ecological or values crisis in capitalism they become the obvious alternative social model.

Traditional Marxism, of course, has little time for such an approach. From Marx's praise of the factory as a disciplinary agent for the workforce and his ignoring of the way in which the modern factory conditions workers to obedi-

ence, to Engels' dismissal of German workers' demands for workers' gardens as "reactionary"[9] to Lenin's "socialism equals nationalization plus electrification" to the bureaucratic nightmare which is Soviet industry, "scientific socialism" has offered little better than philistinism to the issue of how attitudes to nature, technology, industrial production, productive relations and aesthetics can be integrated into workers' lives in a way that maximises their confidence, autonomy and sociability as well as their combativeness.

A far more telling criticism of alternative communities is that they can become inward-looking, self-congratulatory and wilfully separated from the mainstream culture. This can be avoided only by the members of alternative communities becoming involved in the building of an alternative political culture which engages in creative dialogue (which sometimes involves confrontation) with people in the mainstream. This involves four areas of activity. These are:

  (a) involvement in social movements;
  (b) direct action;
  (c) dialogue between those involved in alternative and mainstream schools, work, art and so on;
  (d) participation in electoral activity (the "Greens" strategy).

Alternative Political Culture

Like Dennis Altman in his book *Rehearsals for Change*[10] I believe that the main agent for radical social change is the alternative political culture. In fact, I would argue that the extent to which any social group or collection of groups — including the proletariat — has represented a challenge to elite rule is reflected by the degree to which they have developed an alternative political culture. Such a culture would contain a number of elements which were important to this challenge. Altman identifies these as "a vision of an alternative future, a group or political agency capable of carrying out the struggle, and a strategy of how to proceed".[11] Certainly the labour movement, which has traditionally been seen as the main agent of radical social change has long since lost any alternative vision or even a readily identifiable set of values which are opposed to those of the dominant culture. The meaning of socialism has degenerated to either a re-living of the October Revolution or the meliorism of social democracy.

The alternative culture finds its most coherent public expression through social movements. The most important of these in Australian society are those of ecology, feminism and peace. This is not to argue that everyone involved in these movements belongs to the alternative culture. Large numbers of people in the ecology movement believe that solutions can be found by existing governments tinkering with the environment; for many women their commitment to feminism ends with the goal of more-women-in-positions of power; and many in the peace movement see their struggle purely in terms of pressing for changes in government policy rather than major structural and cultural changes being achieved. However, there are also many for whom the ecology, feminist and peace movements raise far more fundamental questions about liberal capitalism and, to an increasing extent, each is reaching out to the others for greater in-

sights into its own problem and a new systhesis is emerging.

Ironically, some of the most insightful comments about the combined importance of these three movements comes from a man whose resistance to the East Germal ruling elite was drawn from Marxism. After his expulsion from East Germany, Rudolf Bahro soon began to argue that the ecological imperative had replaced class struggle as the main motor of human emancipation. According to Barho:

> . . . so long as we continue to see class struggle as the key to the contemporary crisis, we will only remain trapped in the very circle out of which it is imperative to break. Even the goal of socialism shares the same limitation in a decisive respect: it sets our sights on a classless *industrial* society, without stopping to criticize the origins and consequences of industrialism.[12]

Murray Bookchin argues even more strongly that an ecological awareness cannot simply be grafted onto traditional leftist approaches as Andre Gorz attempts to do.[13] Instead, a fully-informed ecology movement is aware of the need to look at the relationship between humanity and nature, between people, and also examines the social matrix which includes nature, social relationships and technology. In a series of rhetorical questions he asks;

> . . . will it be possible to achieve a new balance between humanity and nature by sensitively tailoring our agricultural practices, urban areas, and technologies to the natural requirements of a region and its ecosystems? Can we hope to 'manage' the natural environment by a drastic decentralization of agriculture, which will make it possible to cultivate land as though it were a garden balanced by diversified fauna and flora? Will these changes require the decentralization of our cities into moderate-sized communities, creating a new balance between town and country? What technology will be required to achieve these goals and avoid the further pollution of the earth? What institutions will be required to create a new public sphere, what social relations to foster a new ecological sensibility, what forms of work to render human practice playful and creative, what sizes and populations of communities to scale life to human dimensions controllable by all?[14]

Such questions are far more fundamental and important ones to ask of people in any modern hierarchical society than can be framed from within Marxism because they not only pose the question of a social alternative to both capitalism and bureaucratic state capitalism but because they also have a direct bearing on whether or not we survive on this planet.

The importance of the "alternatives" in the ecology movement in Australia has been demonstrated in recent years with the struggle to stop the damming of the Franklin and the campaign against uranium mining. In the Franklin campaign the final words were passed by the federal Labor government and the High Court but the damming would never have been stopped without the well-

planned direct action at the site and a skilful campaign around the March 1983 federal elections. With the campaign to stop uranium mining, especially with the coming action at Roxby Downs, the focus is rapidly moving beyond the parameters established by Labor. If uranium mining is established as policy at the ALP National Conference this year, I believe that the Labor Party will lose the tenuous loyalties that exist now in the ecology movement. Some will join the Democrats because of their firm anti-uranium policies (despite their blatant opportunism in other areas) but many will be open to a far more radical approach to politics which sees liberal capitalism as totally incompatible with an ecological sensibility.

The women's movement is important for the alternative culture both for what it has to say about sexuality and human relationships and for the dimensions it adds to many other social issues. The failure of socialist societies to add considerably to the status of women has convinced many people of the necessity to challenge patriarchy here and now and not to see the struggle for women's emancipation as an adjunct to the class struggle. Anti-discrimination laws are fine but, without the widespread challenge to domination represented by the women's movement over the last fifteen years, such legislation would be inconceivable. However, many women have taken feminism further than this. For them, the challenge to patriarchy also involves challenging the masculine violence underlying militarism and the despoilation of nature. This is reflected concretely in the Greenham Common Peace Camp and the Women for Survival action at Pine Gap and in literary form by the edition with the evocative title, *Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Nonviolence*.[15] I was particularly please to read in this book criticisms of Gandhi's emphasis on suffering and self-sacrifice and, instead, an emphasis on feeling powerful through solidarity and nonviolence.

The peace movement has emerged in the last four years as an important element in the alternative culture, though perhaps more diverse than either of the other two. There are a few who are little more than the Australian agents of Soviet foreign policy and there are many who would like to reduce the content of the peace movement's message to an amorphous "peace now!" slogan so that it alienates as few people as possible. The first of these groups has nothing to offer the alternative culture and are its implacable enemies. The second group of people are soon going to have to ask themselves some more fundamental questions about the origins of war and the possibility of the ALP adopting any policies which make one iota of difference to Australia's role in the global network of nuclear terror. Uranium mining, the U.S. bases and the American alliance are still there and will remain for the forseeable future unless there is a concerted move to redefine politics in this country. The peace movement has a vital role to play in that re-definition but only if it is prepared to face up to such issues as Australia's role in Western imperialism, alternative defence strategies and the link between social structures and militarism.

So the social movements are important because they raise, in embryo, the

vision of an alternative, humane society and because they can pose fundamental questions about the way our society is structured and whose interests these structures serve. However, these movements are important for Australians as a whole because they raise issues which *all* people have to confront with some urgency. How do I cope with my situation as a woman in a patriarchal society? How can we prevent the destruction of the natural world? How can we remove the cancer of militarism which could kill us all?

Direct Action

Direct action is unmediated social action. It involves people carrying out their own political actions and not depending on representation. The alternative culture in Australia has made nonviolent direct action its hallmark. Spectacular recent examples abound. Civil liberties demonstrations in Queensland between 1977 and 1982, civil disobedience at the Franklin Dam site, at Roxby Downs in early 1984 and in numerous rainforest preservation campaigns, "take-back-the-night" marches, Anzac Day demonstrations and the Women for Survival action at Pine Gap are all examples of direct action which, while having no immediate success (with the exception of the Franklin and the partial exception of the civil liberties campaign), have had enormous symbolic significance and have generated confidence and sparked people's imagination right around Australia. While I believe that direct action has to be carefully planned and selectively implemented, it has the potential for boosting the confidence and autonomy of activists and for challenging the conventional "wisdom", the taken-for-granted actions and the oppression of mainstream society.

Alternative Communities and Mainstream Culture

While many people in alternative communities will be move involved in working and living in their communities than in political action, there is no reason why they cannot contribute to the expansiveness of the alternative culture. Those who are concerned with the revival of craft work have much to say to "de-skilled" workers in industry, as have organic farmers to conventional agriculturalists. Unemployed young people should be encouraged to set up self-managed work with advice and, hopefully one day, some financial backing from alternative communities. Movements like that for peace education can also provide the opportunities for those involved in alternative and mainstream education systems to be involved in mutually beneficial dialogue.

Electoral Activity

The most sophisticated argument for the alternative culture becoming involved in parliamentary politics through the ALP comes from Dennis Altman. He says:

> However successful the strategy (of working through social movements) it is necessary at some point, to take account of the reality of state power, something that exponents of change by consciousness too easily dismiss. For while the alternative culture can achieve changes in values, perceptions and attitudes, alternative structures,

and even the radicalization of ordinary women and men, this power must at some point be transformed into conventional political power and must be able to impinge in major ways on what governments do.[16]

It is difficult to refute the logic of this. However, it is not logical to go a step further, as Altman does, and argue for people in the alternative culture to join the ALP and become involved in government. As Altman himself realises, the ALP has, for generations, enmeshed radicals in the parliamentary game rendering some ineffectual through isolation and getting others caught up in the fascinating project of managing the system.

Strong social movements which articulate clear messages almost inevitably have an influence on government policy, especially with reformist governments. This is *in spite of* their non-involvement in party politics. However, even when this effect is minimal, the building of alternative communities with their alternative economy and structures ensures that a humane environment is being created for us and our children and that this does not depend on government initiative.

However, there is a valid form of electoral activity which avoids the pitfalls of working through the ALP. While the message of the alternative culture is being articulated with increasing clarity through the social movements, there is a need for that culture to have a public voice which synthesizes the messages which come from those various movements. This voice should also be heard clearly in the wider community. There is no political organisation in Australia at present capable of being this voice but there is an overseas model, and that is the West German Green Party.

The "Greens" strategy cannot be transplanted directly into Australian political life. Nevertheless, there is much we can learn from their experience. The Greens see themselves as "linked to all those working together in the new democratic environment: groups for the protection of life, nature and environment, citizens initiatives, the workers' movement, Christian initiatives, peace, human rights, women's and Third World movements". "We consider ourselves," they say, "part of the Green movement throughout the world."[17] The same dynamic is emerging in Australian politics and there are opportunities for intervention at both the local government and Senate levels. I would think that local government would be the most important focus because it is at this level that popular decision-making is most feasible, and experiences in northern New South Wales have shown that alternative candidates can have a big effect on local elections. Senate campaigns are also possible because of the system of proportional representation. "Green" parties would try to win support for their objectives from other parties and support proposals from other parties which corresponded with their goals. I would consider it vital, however, that they state publicly that they would, under no circumstances, form a government. There would also have to be a firm agreement on rotating parliamentary positions at the end of one or possibly two terms. The argument by some West German Greens that this should be longer because "it takes six months to find out where the toilets are"

is unacceptable and loses sight of the main reasons for being in parliament in the first place.

This is not to argue that there are no dangers to a "greens" strategy. The most obvious to me would seem to be the presence of charismatic personalities who see the future of the party as inseparable from their own leadership and the penetration of the party – after initial successes – by groups and individuals wishing to exercise bureaucratic control over the organisation. I am too much of an anarchist not to see the dangers of a parliamentary course of action but too committed to radical social change to reject a strategy which could help effect a major re-definition of Australian politics.

Conclusion

The early twentieth century anarchist, Gustav Landaner, once pointed out that the state is not an institution which can be destroyed by revolution. "The state is a condition," he said, "a relationship between human beings: we destroy it by contracting other relationships, by behaving differently."[18] Of course, seeing consciousness as all-important and neglecting the oppressive function of social structures is self-defeating. A liberatory society will not be achieved by building a relaxation centre in every community and ignoring the reality of the car assembly factory down the road. The same can be said for single-issue movements whose members see liberation simply in terms of a struggle against patriarchy or against racism.

At the same time appeals by such people as Boris Vrankel in a recent edition of *Arena* for "a new synthesis or form of cooperation between class and non-class analysts" at the same time as maintaining the centrality of class analysis[19] simply smacks of one more round of Marxian colonization. The fact is that class analysis is too restrictive a framework for properly understanding the dynamics of social change or the nature of oppression in any society. Similarly, the organised labour movement is a basis for little more than totally containable economistic struggles and for developing a promising career path as a union bureaucrat.

What we need is a social theory which explains the emergence of hierarchy (patriarchy, age-based, priestly, warrior and so on) not merely the emergence of class societies and an anti-capitalist struggle which is aimed at removing *domination* from human society, not just rule by the bourgeoisie. If we are interested only in rhetoric about the transformation of Australian society, then we should stay within the safe but arid world of class analysis and social-democratic or "revolutionary" politics. If we are interested in substance then we should recognise that since the sixties, we have witnessed the breakdown of the old politics of class antagonisms and are experiencing the revival of old traditions of values conflicts with all the rich utopian possibilities this implies.

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NECESSITY IS THE MOTHER OF LIBERTY**

Cat Steel

Firstly, liberty may be seen in two lights, either as individual liberty, that is, as civil liberties, as libertarian freedom from restraint, coercion or harassment. Or it can be seen as *group* freedom from oppression. I believe that in our society lack of liberty is focused on groups of people: women, blacks, migrants, workers. For example, CIA activities may appear to be harassment of individuals. This is because not only do they want us to see ourselves as individuals and exposed, but also they believe in individualism themselves, and think the removal of the leader will destroy a group. But in fact the whole strength of our struggle for liberty is our *cohesion* and the *analysis of oppression* as the power one group exerts over another.

Further, liberty is not just an end, an ideal society for which you struggle. The act of the struggle for liberty is itself liberation. In physical and mental resistance, the rudiments of liberty, a concept of a free society, are already present. A necessary prerequisite of liberty is an awareness of, and the refusal to accept, the old relationship. Also one must become aware that freedom is not automatic, or a 'right', but something that has to be achieved. Hence through struggles for liberation, an understanding is developed as to what liberty involves.

The experience of oppression results in alienation from your natural condition, a lack of identity. This alienation can be unconscious, eg. an acceptance of capital's definition of the labourer as a commodity; of patriarchy's view of women as sex objects, or it can become conscious, from knowledge of other people's struggles and resistance. When alienation is conscious, it can be attacked by knowledge and experience, it can be discussed with other people in the same position. It becomes a stage in the voyage to liberation.

As alienation becomes real and awareness emerges of your enforced identity as a commodity, sex object, or slave, tension develops between subjective liberation and the continuing objective oppression. This tension is the impetus for liberation and part of the process of liberation. For while we see liberty as the simple negation of the present situation of exploitation, this limits our understanding of what liberty is, or what a free society would be. In the continual dialectic of struggle, we cannot be certain about the outcome of our struggles, it may not be the liberty we seek.

Secondly, I want to focus on the necessity of liberation. To gain consciousness, to become aware of the process of alienation and oppression, we need to be involved in struggles for liberation.

Thirdly, there are all the social relationships which create alienation.

It is not the state, or capital or any other structure which has power in itself, but the power relations between workers and capital, between men and women, black and white. These relationships involve various structural features, such

as the methods of retaining lower pay and status for female employees, and more difficult to unearth, ideological features, such as the attitude that women should not work or collect the dole when unemployed. These relations are supported by the systems of the state, patriarchy and capitalism, but also by the working class, women, blacks who unconsciously accept their ideology.

While I believe we should fight to end such entrenched power relations, which are supported by large groups rather than just individuals, I do not see there ever being an end to power between individuals, or the authority of some individuals over others in certain fields. There is always the power of knowledge, however mild its form.

So in our society there are separate areas of oppression one must struggle against. These are interconnected but will at times have conflicting interests. An example, prostitution, shows conflict between capitalism, which wants prostitution to remain a private enterprise, and the state, which wants it decriminalised so that the state can control it.

What we are opposing then, is a conglomeration of oppressive forces. Certainly, patriarchy and racism have been around for longer than capitalism, but it was under capitalism that alienated individuals were first brought together *en masse*. As long as women were isolated, working at home, and power was seen as an individual problem, opposition was frustrated and no coherent theory could be developed of oppression. With the advent of capitalism, not only were patriarchy and racism co-opted for its purposes, and hence easily visible in the factories, but also a new form of alienation developed.

Another problem which has always faced socialist feminists has been to learn how patriarchy and feminism interrelate. Some feminists stress the intractability of male domination by pointing out that it long predates capitalism and that the sexual division of labour is external to capitalism proper. Not only do they treat the sexual division of labour ahistorically, but capitalism is defined very narrowly. A more sophisticated account argues that the sexual division of labour has acquired an organic or institutional existence within capital. It is seen as taken over by capital and used for its benefit. Anne Game and Rosemary Pringle have argued in *Gender at Work*, that the sexual division of labour is not "functional to capitalism" but rather is a defining feature of it, just as central to its operation as is wage labour or surplus value. Also, they note that the reverse is true: the sexual divison of labour as we experience it under capitalism takes highly specific forms. Thus these two systems, they believe, are not separate.

Two areas where capitalism and patriarchy do seem to combine apparently conflicting interests to mutual advantage are vertical gender stratification which maintains men's superiority in the workplace without having to give them better or even different jobs to the women; and the introduction of technology which has removed many previously "female" occupations, and replaced them with men on the machines. It probably would not be of concern to straight capitalist interests *who* works the machines. But it is important for patriarchy. Whereas women are treated as deskilled when moved to operate a machine which previously did the job of a number of women, men are empowered by

this enormous or complex object over which they believe they have control.

For many years it has been the state which has provided most of the avenues of resistance to power relations which we experience on a mass level, and it is these relations I am concerned with. That is, the state has been the site of contradictions between capital and labour, as in the fight for the social wage, between men and women, in the fight for equal pay, between blacks and whites in struggles for land rights and aboriginal control of their health services.

The state I would define as a system of relations that in general serve the interests of the ruling government, class, sex, race. However the state is such a net of separate organisations and interests that there may often be conflict. This continual dialectic leads to changing power relations of the state.

So it is not only the patriachs and capitalists who control the state (that would form a horrifying conspiracy theory), the state is large enough to find it advantageous to involve women and community groups in its development. Either by co-option or adjustment the state will often absorb our demands. This way we get to see our ideas of resistance and our plans for liberty put into concrete form.

Now there can be different responses to the fluidity of the state. One view sees such trends as entirely reformist. Once demands are co-opted, it becomes harder to locate methods of oppression and sites of alienation. Thus, it is claimed, the effort of formulating such demands continually saps the strength of the revolutionary movement. The state must be smashed and done away with. However I fear this will just lead to complete anarchy.

My view is that the state co-option of our demands not only allows us to see our ideas in practice, but also to see them adulterated and used for the interests of those pushing the state from the other side – capital, patriarchy and racists. So we see where our demands fail.

This cannot be due solely to the system in which they are used. If we had a sudden cataclysmic social revolution, not allowing time for co-option of any of our demands, there would, of course, still be sufficient adherence to old relations and ideology to enable co-opted strategies to develop and we would be fighting these forces in reaction.

Our struggle with the state enables us to learn more about the liberty we are fighting for and how to fight it. We need the experience to develop our ideas and knowledge of liberty. Each step becomes less clear and harder to see. So to educate ourselves on how capitalism, patriarchy and racism work, we become involved in present struggles. These reforms are also a necessary part of physical survival until any social revolution occurs.

Now I mentioned before that it was the limit to our knowledge of the many facets of our present alienation which limits our understanding of what liberty is. It is in such cases as the equal pay legislation that we see our demands are not sufficient. The government plans to experiment with positive discrimination policies in about 28 private enterprises. Although having the usual problem of being enforced from above, it has all the aspects of creating consciousness of sexism amongst workers, and forcing management in these areas to satisfy

certain conditions and targets. That is, not only is there policy, but also requirements to be satisfied in the programme. This programme is a response to the failure to legislate in the area due to liberal opposition. Without legislation the critics doubt anything will be achieved, and certainly legislation would be better than women being encouraged to see individual employers as being the originators of their advancement.

Yet it is extremely difficult to develop any analysis until we have seen it in practice. Although I cannot see legislation overcoming my distrust of state co-option, in this case, where the Left originated the development, the state will not necessarily be calling the shots.

At both theoretical and practical levels then our comprehension of capitalism and patriarchy is insufficient or incomplete. It probably never will be complete, but at the moment the differences are pretty fundamental. And yet people are crying for revolution now; a revolution to change or replace something we don't even understand.

We have no comprehension or simple analysis of our oppression. Until we have this consciousness we seem to be struggling aimlessly against individual aspects of our oppression. Once we have a coherent view of our oppression we have the consciousness to resist. Necessarily there develops tension with our present oppressed state and we see the motive to resist. That is we see what liberty is like, not just what it isn't like. This tension, this resistance, this view of future liberation as well as past oppression is the beginning of liberty. In fact, necessity is the mother of liberty.

** Editors Note:
For inclusion in the collection of conference papers, this paper has been edited quite extensively, as originally it was intended and was delivered as a talk rather than a written paper. We would have preferred the author to have done the editing, but she was unfortunately overseas at the time. We hope however, that in editing it ourselves, we have remained true to her style and have not altered the arguments presented in her original article.

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Richard is currently a lecturer in the Department of History and Philosophy of Science at Woollongong University. He is also a Senior Fellow of the Centre for Technology and Social Change. His published research includes a monograph: "The Sociology of Industrial and Post Industrial Societies", *Current Sociology*, Spring 1984. His forthcoming book, *Theories of Industrial Societies*, will be published by Croom Helm in 1985. Currently Richard is working on the effects of video and communication technology.

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Julie is currently working as a computer programmer. She has been involved in the Women's Movement since 1973. She has been an activist with Women Behind Bars since 1977 and describes herself as an Anarchist/Feminist.

B.U.G.A. U.P.
B.U.G.A. U.P. activists aim to increase public awareness of the unhealthy propaganda techniques used by advertisers to control mass consumer spending. 1984, B.U.G.A. U.P.'s 5th birthday, was seen by one activist as an appropriate time to draw public attention to the propaganda and lying put out by the advertising industry, which sells products with muted promises of unattainable goals and suggestions of individuality, freedom and happiness. If you share B.U.G.A. U.P.'s concern about unhealthy promotions write to Box 80, Strawberry Hills, N.S.W. 2012.

Collective of Australian Prostitutes (C.A.P.)
C.A.P. was formed on 13 July, 1983. C.A.P. campaigns for the "decriminilisation of prostitution. No laws. More than that, we want all the money used to persecute, exploit and imprison women, made available to women's services such as housing, health centres, self defence classes, educational programmes etc; so that each individual woman can control her own body and choose her own lifestyle." This paper was presented to the conference organisers by Roz Nelson who is an activist within C.A.P. and who at the time of writing was involved with S.I.C.H. (Student Initiatives in Community Health).

Social Control Conference Papers

Noam Chomsky
Noam is professor of linguistics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is the author of many books on linguistics and U.S. foreign policy, including most recently *Radical Priorities*; *Towards a New Cold War*; 2 volume work – *The Political Economy of Human Rights* (with E. Herman) and *The Fateful Triangle*.

Joan Coxsedge
Joan is a long term A.L.P. member and currently holds the seat of Melbourne West in the Victorian Parliament. She is a feminist and is involved in many areas, including the anti-uranium movement and the struggle for civil liberties. She has also had a long standing concern with the growth of secret agencies. Her most recent publication is *Rooted in Secrecy* (with Ken Coldicutt and Jenny Harandt) published by C.A.P.P. 1982.

Friends of the Earth (F.O.E.)
The authors of the F.O.E. paper on bureaucracy are as follows: Ray Kent, Brian Martin, Val Plumwood, Ann Thomson, Rosemary Waters, Ian Watson. Friends of the Earth Canberra, has concentrated on opposing uranium mining since the mid 70's, because the issue of nuclear power epitomises problems of centralisation of political and economic power. This same concern led the group to do a study of bureaucracy. Since 1984, food justice has become a major topic of interest.

F.O.E. Canberra is a small informal group which structures its activities using non-violent principles in order to maximise participation of its members.

Drew Hutton
Drew has been an activist in the Peace, Anarchist and Civil Liberties movements since the late 60's and was a founding member of the Queensland Green Party in 1984. He lectures in History and Social Science at Brisbane C.A.E.

Bob James
Bob started out nearly a decade ago to write the history of Anarchism in Australia and to provide an archive of materials for new generations. He is still able to enjoy a cappuccino and a quiet lie down. He can be found lurking at: 1/21 Stevenson Place, Newcastle East, N.S.W. 2300.

Lea Loeve
Lea has been involved for many years with issues affecting ethnic communities in Australia. She has been active in campaigning for the participation of migrant

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workers and has served on the Executive of the Ethnic Communities Council and their Industrial Relations Subcommittee. She has also been a member of the "Migrant Rights Committee" and is involved in issues of Immigration and citizenship. Currently she is working with the "Women's Services Liaison Group".

Libertarian Workers
The Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society is an Anarcho-Communist group which has been in existence in Melbourne since 1977. They can be contacted at P.O. Box 20, Parkville 3052, Melbourne.

Maurie O'Connor
Maurie was born in Sydney and is a graduate of Behavioural Sciences at Macquarie University. His interest in psychiatry and anti-psychiatry stems from his employment in the field of mental health as a psychiatric nurse, and also from having a long standing interest in the area of Medical Sociology. He says, "I never knew I was an anarchist until one day a bloke where I worked said, 'You're an anarchist'. He gave me a book which I read, and then I said, 'That's it, I'm an anarchist'. Since that time I've always doubted everything. A belief in anarchism has also given me great resolve and a lot of people to argue with."

Val Plumwood
Val has been an activist in the women's peace and environmental movements for many years. Having been active particularly in the Canberra branch of the Friends of the Earth, she now lives partly in Sydney and partly in the rainforest near Braidwood. She currently lectures at Macquarie University.

Rebel Worker Group
The Rebel Worker Group is an anarcho-syndicalist propaganda group based in Sydney. They have been organised for only a few years but have a regular bi-monthly paper called "Rebel Worker" and have also published a series of pamphlets. They also put on a monthly discussion evening which is held in Jura Books meeting room. Anyone who wants to contact them can do so via P.O. Box 92, Broadway, 2007, N.S.W.

Hamish Reid
At the time of writing, Hamish was Computing Centre Manager at the Ionospheric Prediction Service (Dept. Science and Technology) and a part-time post-

graduate research student in Computer Aided Design for Microelectronics at the University of N.S.W.

Cat Steel
At the time of writing Cat was involved with Intervention Books. Currently she is on an extended holiday in Nicaragua.

John Tebbutt
John has been a volunteer at Radio 2SER since 1979 as a journalist/producer on various programmes and in adminstration as a volunteer representative on various committees that operate at 2SER. John is now a volunteer with the Radio Liberation Collective — a group of solidarity organisations supporting liberation struggles in various countries who have come together to present a radio programme on 2SER. He is also currently studying at the N.S.W. Institute of Technology. He'd like to thank John Potts whose research on the beginnings of Australian commercial radio provided information for the first part of the paper.

David Vaile
David "started a medical degree at N.S.W. Uni in 1977; dropped out after two years, partly in distress at the prospect of having to face huge numbers of distressed people wanting some 'instant fix' when their illnesses stemmed from the way they led their lives. Since then I have driven taxis for a living, been unemployed for several years, worked at 2SER-FM as a news producer (before our 'slanderous' comments in defence of Wendy Bacon's right to practise brought the wrath of the Broadcasting Tribunal down on the station) and played music with a variety of people. Now an Arts/Law student at U.N.S.W. again, installed recently as Director of Student Publications at the Student Union."

CONFERENCE
june '84

1984 and
SOCIAL CONTROL

JUNE: 9, 10, 11.

"In a time of UNIVERSAL DECEIT, telling the truth is a revolutionary act."
- George Orwell.

The year of 1984 is well and truely with us, but what relationship if any, has the society we live in to the "1984" of George Orwell's novel? Is the main purpose of the Military/Nuclear state with its constant threat of war, and its "Us" and "Them" mentality, to keep us in our place. Who are the "Thought Police" in Australia? Who is watching us today? Who is infringing on our privacy? Do Australia's Secret Police have more to do with keeping track of active trade unionists and political dissidents than on keeping track of foreign aggressors? How does Patriarchy function to keep us in our place ? What are the possibilities and avenues for human liberty and freedom in Australia today?

Despite the fact that the press greeted 1984 as a miniature media event, little attention has been paid to some of the more substantial and ongoing issues of social control in Australia. In any event there has been little opportunity for public discussion and debate of these issues.

MEREWETHER BUILDING
CITY ROAD
SYDNEY UNIVERSITY

PROGRAMME

saturday

Time	
9.00	Registration.
9.50	Introduction: Peter Sheldon.
	LR1 STATE.
10.00	Drew Cottle: Examination of the State: The need for more state research. Brian Martin: Bureaucracy. Bob James: Spies in Austaralia - Not a Civil Liberties Issue. Ian Langham: Against Conspiracy Theories. Discussion.
1.00	
Lunch	REVIEW: Women behind bras presents: Feminism and social control.

Time		
2.00	LR1 LAW AND LEGAL SYSTEMS Ian Dodd: Law and society: Too Many Regulations? Wendy Bacon: Ideas about Civil Liberties: (reputation and privacy) How they are being used in aid of political coverups in 1984. Discussion.	LR5 Val Plumwood: Are the State and Capitalism Enough? Factors in the explanation of Social Control in enviromental areas. (Nuclear Power & Forestry)
3.30		
4.00	LR1 FRAME UP - 50 minute video, followed by discussion with film-maker Irina Dunn.	LR5 PRISONS open forum with members of: Prisoners Action Group, Half-way House and others.

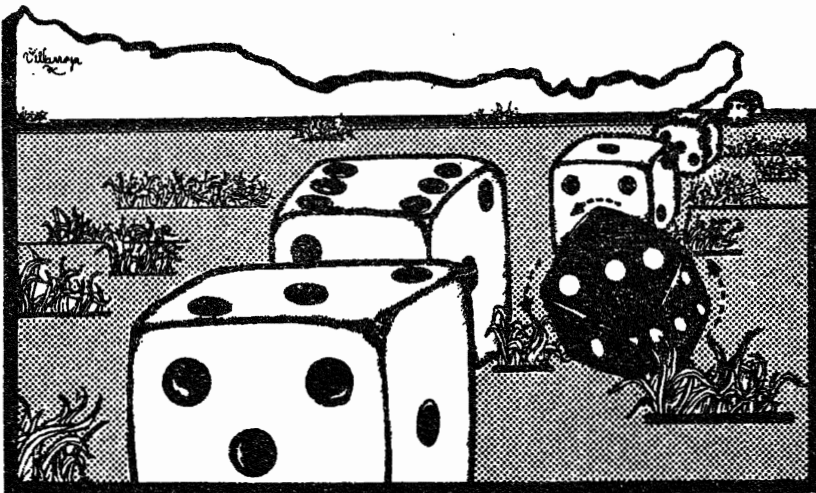|	sunday		
10.00 **11.25**	LR1 TECHNOLOGY. Richard Badham: Where do Our Choices Come from? Hamish Reid: Networks of Control Looking at control as a tool ●f technology.	LR5 UNIONS. Film Know your Friends, Know your Enemies, 20 minutes. Pat Mackie: Is the Wobbly Philosophy Relevant Today? Rebel Worker Group: Accord or Discord? Libertarian Workers: Beyond the final Illusion.	
11.35 **1.00**	LR1 RACE and RACISM. Peter Karantinos and Chris Kirkbright: Black Communities. Lea Loeve: The effect of Racial Discrimination on our Society. A partic- ipatory discussi●n.	Seminar Rm. 2 Ariel Salleh: The Consumer Society and Instrumental Culture. Workshop.	LR4 MEDIA: SURVEILLANCE, DISAPPEARANCE. INT. ERRUPTIONS. R●xby Mismanagement Se- vices: Surveillance, Dis- appearance 'Operation protection' Roxby Downs '83.
Lunch	Concert: FREE BESIEGED (Greek political band).		Video:Settle Down Count- ry CAAMA.
2.●0 **3.30**	LR1 PATRIARCHY AND FEMINISM. Julie Bishop: Big Brother, Big Sister - Social Control Within and Without the Womens Movement in 1984. Kerry Carrington: Prostitution: Work or Deviance - Social Control of ·Sexually Repressive Society's Dirty Work		LR4 Interruptions. Built N Ghost & Super 8 Group: Reception/Transmission.
4.00 **5.30**	LR1 CONSUMERISM AND SOCIETY. ▮.U.G.A. U.P. - Brian Robson: Advertising and Social Contr●l. David Vaile: The Deve- lopmen: of the manage- ment of Drug Depen- dence and Drug_ Addicti●n.	Workshops؛ R. Nelson & P. Lane: The Dynamics of the Australian Prostitutes Collective (Sem rm.2) D. Homburg: Prostitutes: Control of our lives (Sem rm.3) M. O'Connor: Psychiatry: the Confused Politics of Mental Health (Sem rm.4)	LR4 Media is not Magic: Useful Radio. Tony Collins Nicola Joseph John Tebhit 4ZZZ, 2SER, 2RSR, 2MCE.

monday

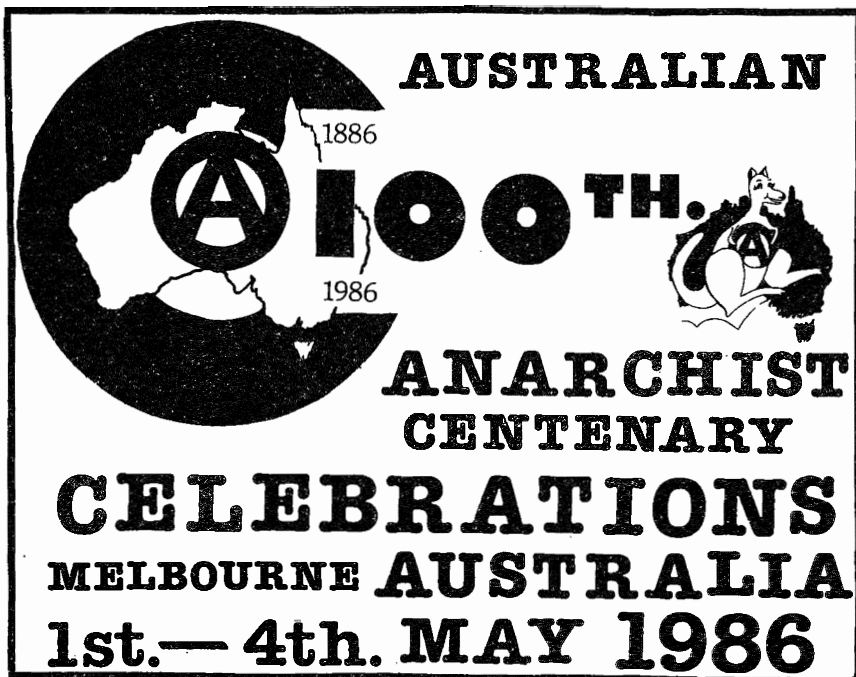|		
10.00	LR1	LIBERTY and FREEDOM

Drew Hutton: The Ecology of Freedom: Substance and Rhetoric in the Transformation of Australian Society.

Cat Steel: Necessity is the Mother of Liberty.

George McIlroy: Practical Liberty and the Democratic State.

Peter Karantinos: Hobbsean Man.

Discussion.

1.00	Lunchtime Concert: Mountain Womens Bush Band.

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AUSTRALIAN

1886 **100TH.** **1986**

ANARCHIST CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

1st.— 4th. MAY 1986

AUSTRALIAN ANARCHIST CENTENARY CELEBRATION COLLECTIVE

An enourmous gathering of anarchists from throughout the world, a festival of anarchist film and culture and a forum for the developement and exchange of ideas – all this and more is planned for Melbourne 1986.

May 1986 will see the end result of two years of work by anarchists around Australia in the creation of the AUSTRALIAN ANARCHIST CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS to be held in Melbourne from May 1st. to the 4th.

Conference organisers are keen to use the occasion to bring anarchist ideas to the wider public. By organising a wide variety of events ranging from well known speakers to film and dance we hope to illustrate the depth of anarchist ideas and the wide variety of people who identify as anarchists.

The dates chosen for the conference are significant in local and international anarchist history.

May 1st., is the day of international workers solidarity; as well as the date of the foundation of the Melbourne Anarchist Club in 1886.

1986 also marks the 50th. anniversary of the Spanish revolution – where anarchism was put into practice by over 3 million people. Also remembered in 1986 is the 100th. anniversary of the judicial murder in the United States of 5 anarchists, accused of having thrown a bomb during an 8 hour working day demonstration. The Chicago "Haymarket Tragedy" as it became known had an impact that reverberated around the world in labor politics.

But this is not to be a conference devoted to historical review. The focus of the entire event is to be the relevance of anarchist ideas to modern society and our own lives.

Contact address: P.O. Box 20, Parkville, Vic.

JURA BOOKS — Sydney's anarchist bookshop since 1977. We hold the largest range of anarchist and libertarian stock in this hemisphere. The shop holds books, periodicals, posters, stickers, T-shirts and records. While specializing in anarchist material, we also cover a wide range of areas, including Feminism, alternative technology, peace studies, novels, alternative labour studies, Rationalist thought, Third World Studies and alternative criminology. Some of our material is in languages other than English.

A growing section of Jura has been the periodicals, where we hold the largest selection, in Sydney, of anarchist and radical journals from around the world.

Jura runs as a collective. By this we mean that all decisions concerning the bookshop and the building are collectively made at our weekly meetings, with tasks delegated out to individuals or sub-groups.

We are a voluntary collective, that is, no one gets money or other material benefits out of working in the collective.

We are a non-profit bookshop in that we currently add on only 20% to the cost price of the books, and all of the takings go to replacing stock and expanding the range of titles.

All the bills involved with the maintenance of the building (about $100,000 per year) are paid for by donations from the collective, other regular donors and through fund raising events. We have organised it this way so that we could get a normally expensive commodity (ideas), at the cheapest price, to ordinary people.

It's getting close ot our 10th birthday, if you would like to help us keep the project going and to help us to expand our activities beyond the running of a book shop — please do so.

– DONATIONS ARE ALWAYS NEEDED –

Also at the Jura address is the:

FANYA BARON LIBRARY
Membership to Sydney's only self-managed library allows you access to a large number of books for only $5/$2 conc. per year. The library is open during bookshop hours.

The Fanya Baron Library Collective is looking for helpers to keep the library in order, organise funds and to spread the word.

Photo: Entrance to the Ft. Dix Stockade.
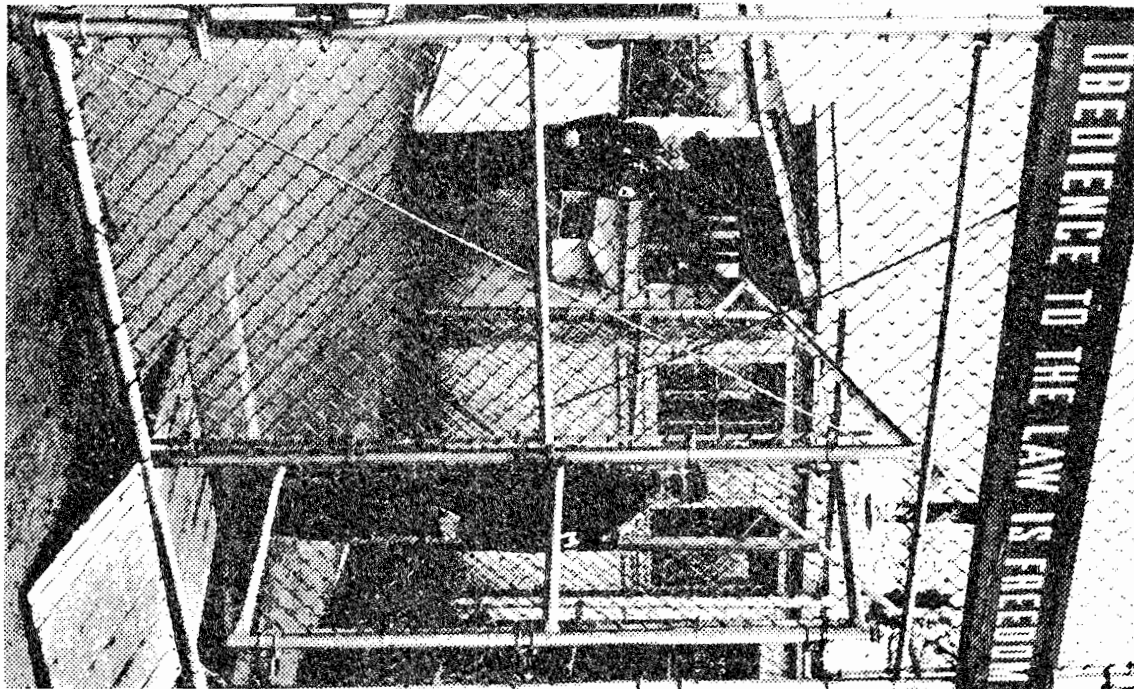
Anarchist Contacts In Australia......

N.S.W.

Jura Books (Anarchist Bookshop)
417 King St
Newtown, 2042
5164416

Everything (Anarchist/Feminist newspaper)
P.O. Box 131,
Holme Building
Uni of Sydney 2006.

Fanya Baron Library
C/- Jura Books
417 King st,
Newtown, 2042.

Red and Black (Anarchist Journal)
P.O. Box 115
Enmore, N.S.W., 2042.

Rebel Worker (bimonthly anarcho-syndicalist newspaper)
P.O. Box 92
Broadway,
N.S.W. 2007.

Monty Miller Press (anarchist/anarcho-syndicalist book/
pamphlet publisher/distributer)
P.O. Box 92
Broadway,
N.S.W. 2007.

Panic Merchants (distributers of anti-authoritarian mater-
ial; books, posters, calenders etc).
P.O. Box K153
Haymarket, N.S.W., 2000

Black Ram Books (anarchist publishers and distributers)
P.O. Box 414
Darlinghurst, N.S.W. 2010

Redfern Black Rose Anarchist Bookshop
36 Botany Road
Alexandria, 2015
6996546

Victoria

The Affinity Collective (Publish Affinity - anarchist
quarterly).
P.O. Box 109
Nth Fitzroy
Vic. 3057

Libertarian Workers for a Self Managed Society
(publish Libertarian Workers Bulletin)
P.O. Box 20
Parkville
Vic. 3052
Treason
(anarchist paper)
P.O. Box 37
Brunswick East
Vic. 3057.

Queensland

War Resisters League
P.O. Box 223
Broadway
QLD. 4000

Anarres Anarchist Centre
50 Baynes St
West End. Brisbane

Western Australia

Freedom Collective
P.O. Box 203
Fremantle 6160
W.A.
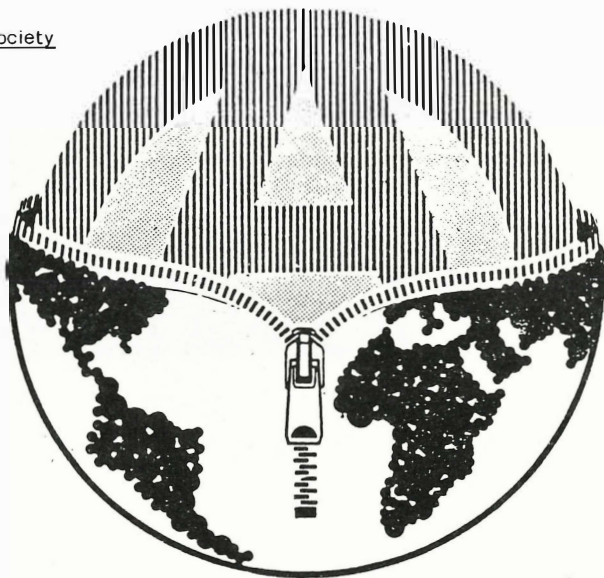
TO BE GOVERNED

IS TO BE WATCHED OVER, INSPECTED, SPIED UPON, DIRECTED, LEGISLATED AT, REGULATED, DOCKETED, INDOCTRINATED, PREACHED AT, CONTROLLED, ASSESSED, WEIGHED, CENSORED, ORDERED ABOUT, BY MEN WHO HAVE NEITHER THE RIGHT, NOR THE KNOWLEDGE, NOR THE VIRTUE: TO BE GOVERNED MEANS TO BE, AT EACH OPERATION, AT EACH TRANSACTION, AT EACH MOVEMENT, NOTED, REGISTERED, CONTROLLED, TAXED, STAMPED, MEASURED, VALUED, ASSESSED, PATENTED, LICENSED, AUTHORIZED, ENDORSED, ADMONISHED, HAMPERED, REFORMED, REBUKED, ARRESTED: IT IS TO BE, ON THE PRETEXT OF THE GENERAL INTEREST, TAXED, DRILLED, HELD TO RANSOM, EXPLOITED, MONOPOLIZED, EXTORTED, SQUEEZED, HOAXED, ROBBED: THEN, AT THE LEAST RESISTANCE, AT THE FIRST WORD OF COMPLAINT, TO BE REPRESSED, FINED, ABUSED, ANNOYED, FOLLOWED, BULLIED, BEATEN, DISARMED, GAROTTED, IMPRISONED, MACHINE-GUNNED, JUDGED, CONDEMNED, DEPORTED, FLAYED, SOLD, BETRAYED, AND FINALLY MOCKED, RIDICULED, INSULTED, DISHONOURED: SUCH IS GOVERNMENT, SUCH IS JUSTICE, SUCH IS MORALITY:

PIERRE-JOSEPH PROUDHON